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ABSTRACT

Teachers, teacher trainers, pedagogical counselors, and representatives of teachers associations and ministries from ten Council of Europe member states as well as from two non-member states met to evaluate innovation in the schooling of gypsy and traveller children. Considered were the conditions under which innovation emerges, the forms that it takes, and the fields in which it occurs. The results of innovation and its transferability were discussed. This report contains transcripts of the introductory address and three lectures. Reports of three working groups and a synthesis report are included. Appendices contain diagrams of Netherlands' coordination of teaching gypsy and traveller children, recommendations of a previous seminar, and a list of participants. (ALL)

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35th Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar
"Schooling for Gypsies' and Travellers' children: evaluating innovation"
Donaueschingen, 18-23 May 1987

Report

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THE CDCC's TEACHER BURSARIES SCHEME

35th European Teachers' Seminar

Schooling for Gypsies' and Travellers children :
Evaluating innovation

Donaueschingen
Federal Republic of Germany
18-23 May 1987

Report by

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I. Introduction

The thirty-fifth Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar was held from 18-23 May 1987 in the teacher training institute in Donaueschingen, Federal Republic of Germany. Taking as its theme "Schooling for Gypsy and Traveller Children: Evaluating Innovation", the seminar gathered together teachers, teacher trainers and pedagogical counsellors, representatives of teachers' associations and Ministries from ten Council of Europe Member States as well as from two non-member States (Hungary and Yugoslavia). The director and chairperson of the seminar was Jean-Pierre Liégeois.

The theme of the seminar being the evaluation of innovations in schooling for Gypsy and Traveller children, it was a question of studying the conditions under which innovation emerges, the forms which it takes and the fields in which it occurs; to consider its results and to evaluate its "transferability" potential. A conceptual outline designed to inspire reflection on this theme, prepared by the director of the seminar and accompanied by numerous documents, was sent by the Council of Europe to all participants before the meeting in Donaueschingen. These guidelines enabled participants to gather information and analyses, and to organise them for more concise and harmonious presentation during the discussions of the seminar.

The welcoming address was given by Albert Pfaff, Director of the Donaueschingen Staatliche Akademie für Lehrerfortbildung, who described some of the history of the city and of the Akademie, suggested cultural activities in which the participants might wish to take part, and explained the details of the various functions and facilities offered by the Akademie.

Participants quickly realised, and were constantly reminded during their stay, that these words of welcome and offers of assistance were followed up with practical action, and the warmth of the welcome provided by the staff of the Akademie played a large part in the success of the seminar.

Giulia Podestà, Head of the School Education Division of the Council of Europe, having welcomed the participants, reminded them of the activities of the Council of Europe in the field of schooling for Gypsy and Traveller children, emphasising the interest which the organisation takes in this question and setting these activities within the broader context of school provision for children of minority groups in general, and of migrant groups in particular, and above all in relation to the training of their teachers. In conjunction with this, she commented briefly on the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers on "the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, notably in a context of migration" /R (84) 18, 25 September 1984/ and, on a more general note, the Recommendation of the same Committee on "teaching and learning about Human Rights in schools" /R (85) 7, 14 May 1985/. Moreover, she cited some of the fundamental principles which inspired the project on "the education and cultural development of migrants". She concluded by praising Professor Liégeois for his authoritative work, Gypsies and Travellers /Council of Europe, 1985/ and for his excellent synthesis report compiled at the request of the Commission of the European Communities, on School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children.

At the conclusion of the seminar, and in the reports of the working groups submitted afterwards, the participants expressed their gratitude to Ms Podestà as well as to her assistant, Ms Yvette Donazzolo, for their ongoing attention and assistance.

Jean-Pierre Liégeois, director of the seminar, first thanking the participants for their presence and drawing attention to their high qualifications as well as the complementarity of their functions and training, then recalled the theme of the seminar, the conditions of its preparation and envisioned progress, and gave a detailed rundown of the week's programme - all the more precise in that the schedule was a very full one - of plenary sessions and workshops. Two of the evenings were dedicated to showings of films, videos, photographs and pedagogical materials from most of the States represented at the seminar, thanks to materials brought by the participants themselves.

II. Towards Reflection on Innovation
(Introductory Address to the Seminar)

by Jean-Pierre Liégeois

THE CONTEXT OF THE SEMINAR

This seminar takes place within a series of projects and reflections undertaken by the Council of Europe regarding Gypsy and Traveller communities, with particular reference to school-related questions. Let us recall for example Resolution (75) 13 of the Committee of Ministers, containing recommendations on the social situation of nomad populations in Europe, with the accent on schooling. Later, in Resolution 125 (1981) "on the role and responsibilities of local and regional authorities in regard to the cultural and social problems of populations of nomadic origin", the Permanent Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe requested the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC - which includes all 21 Member States of the Council of Europe as well as Finland, San Marino and the Holy See) to undertake "an in-depth study of the education and training problems of nomads" and to prepare "information packs for teachers".

To date, two projects have been undertaken by the CDCC:

1) The seminar on "The Training of Teachers of Gypsy Children", Donaueschingen, 20-25 June, 1983. This gathered together teachers, teacher trainers, gypsy and traveller representatives, school inspectors and representatives from ministeries.

"It may be seen as a balance-sheet of reflections and experiences, as a crystallisation of certain hopes - in short, as a synthesis for Western Europe, favoured by the fact that the presence here of participants from different countries should enable a comparative and contrastive account to be drawn up, showing various types of schooling available in Europe. An analysis on these lines seems to us to be a sound methodological approach, for in fact we are faced with an experimental situation that has been developing over the years. Teaching experiments, each without reference to the others, have been and are being achieved. It is possible to compare them and to assess, at least approximately, their pedagogical results and social consequences. For all Europe's many peoples, international co-operation and comparison are essential, and this seminar is a privileged means of comparing the results obtained within institutional frameworks that differ in their basic policies and consequent structures".

I think it worthwhile repeating here some of the points I made in my introductory talk then, partly to demonstrate that we find ourselves in the same situation (a rare opportunity to promote, by means of this international encounter, insight and knowledge geared towards improving the training and information base of teachers and other partners in school provision), and partly to emphasise that we must not repeat here a seminar which has already taken place - more on this later.

The first seminar enabled us to identify general tendencies, as the experience of different States is broadly very similar, and this in turn enabled the formulation of recommendations. The synthesis report is now available: "20th Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on "The Training of Teachers of Gypsy Children", Jean-Pierre Liégeois, Council for Cultural

Co-operation, DECS/EGT (83) 63", published in English, French and German, with publication in Spanish being undertaken by Presencia Gitana, and in Italian by Lacio Drom.

2) The information handbook Gypsies and Travellers /Council of Europe 1985/. In the wake of the CDCC demand, voiced in Resolution 125 (1981), for the preparation "as part of its work in connection with intercultural educational materials, of information dossiers for teachers" concerning Gypsy and Traveller communities. Having already compiled numerous such handbooks concerning intercultural education and various immigrant cultures, in various Member States of the Council of Europe, the CDCC undertook the preparation of an information document in two parts: "Socio-Cultural Facts", and "Socio-Political Facts". Realised in 1983-84, this document, the fruit of collaboration between some thirty persons in the various States concerned, was published by the Council of Europe in French and English; Italian and Spanish versions have also been published (by Lacio Drom, Roma and Presencia Gitana, Madrid, respectively), and other versions are in preparation.

In addition to these two Council of Europe projects, mention must also be made of the study undertaken at the request of the Commission of the European Communities. This study aimed at providing a critical overview of the school situation of Gypsy and Traveller children in the different States of the European Community. The study produced great amounts of data and analyses, both in the national monographs produced in each State (some of which have been published, or soon will be) and in the synthesis report based upon them, La scolarisation des enfants tsiganes et voyageurs (School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children), published in French by the Commission in 1986, and soon to be available in other languages /through the Office of Official Publications of the European Communities, in its "Documents" series/.

Taken as a whole, these projects demonstrate both the widespread present level of interest in the subject, and the complementarity of actions undertaken by various European international institutions with regard to questions concerning Gypsy communities, and enable us bit by bit to formulate a coherent and comparative overview at European level. Included in the results of such reflections are evaluations of specific projects, such as the development of "experimental classes" or "pilot projects", and the analyses of them are followed by recommendations and proposals for action. The 1983 Donaueschingen seminar enabled the formulation of a first overview of teacher training, and the publicisation of recommendations which subsequently proved extremely useful in many cases both as a basis for reflection and as a line of action, for teachers as well as for others involved in the schooling of Gypsy and Traveller children. In the same way, the book Gypsies and Travellers concludes with several broad guidlines for action, and the report of the Commission of the European Communities with proposals which must be discussed, and the implementation of which must be monitored.

It seems useful to dedicate a few words to certain elements determining the context of our reflection, in order that these elements might be understood (notably by reading the above-mentioned reports) and taken into account: the worst of the undergrowth has been cleared, and, though the job is far from complete, still the groundwork to date enables all of us, including teachers, administrators and various policy-makers who may be unfamiliar with these questions, to see things more clearly. We shall not repeat here the importance of schooling, its history, the difficulties experienced by Gypsy and Traveller communities in relation to it. We are not going to repeat our accounts of these; instead, we take them as our starting

point. The time has come to refine the scope of our work, and to progress in reflection and action within the confines of definite themes. To emphasise the importance, and urgency, of our work, I quote two of our colleagues. First, Thomas Acton: "School provision for Gypsy children is at a crossroads. It is possible to continue to envisage it as it could have been: an exhilarating adventure, an historic act of social reconciliation, bringing to national and to European culture the treasures of an oppressed people. Or, it can be transformed into a purgatory for teachers relegated to a disadvantaged sector. Without a clear vision at national level, this latter possibility is the more likely" /Gypsy Education: At the Crossroads_, in the British Journal of Special Education, vol. 12, no. 1, 1985, p.8/. Second, Evangelos Marselos, present at this seminar, in private correspondance to me: "We have reached the end of a 'prehistory' of informal efforts. An 'historic course' is now beginning".

THE THEME OF THE SEMINAR

The theme of our seminar is evaluating innovation in schooling for Gypsy and Traveller children. We shall be studying the conditions in which innovation emerges, the forms which it takes and the domaines in which it occurs, then go on to consider its results and evaluate possibilities for "transferability".

Gypsy-related policies have been up until now expressions of cultural negation in various forms: exclusion (total rejection), inclusion (violently forced integration). The present period, by contrast, is one of indecision. There are many reasons behind this: the failure of imposed integration, the impact of migrant cultures in many States of Western Europe, the development of pressure groups, the efforts of international institutions etc. Indecision implies both uncertainty and stocktaking. It provides an opening in which new questions may be posed, and an attempt made to evolve new responses. The overviews which have been made regarding school provision, while sombre, are not altogether black; and if they were, on the whole, negative, they are not entirely pessimistic. On the contrary, the clearing of the undergrowth, mentioned above, has enabled us to see in new directions, and has opened up new paths. These paths must be followed attentively, signposted if possible, and the evaluation of innovation (a synonym for exploration) helps us to clarify the way ahead by publicising those developments which have proved satisfactory to all concerned, thus demonstrating that constructive innovation is indeed possible under conditions which we will attempt to define over the course of this seminar.

Let us pause for a moment on the fact that innovation is, at the same time, difficult. Let us consider, for example, "intercultural pedagogy". Far too often still, cultures coexist in the classroom, but do not really enter into contact, and thus do not engage in dialogue. During the 1983 seminar, we measured the gap between the idea of the intercultural, and its practice, with regard to our present theme. Numerous texts published in the interim have made similar observations.

I will quote only two of them, both from the Council of Europe: "Intercultural education implies both a receptive and a creative attitude on the part of the whole community and it calls for administrators and teachers familiar with both cultures and equipped with the necessary classroom 'tools'. These factors (are) often lacking or inadequate in practice..." /Learning for Life, Council of Europe 1984, p. 25/. "Another point is the frequent disregard of the 'inter' in 'interculturalism'. This

implies renunciation of all one-sidedness, however sincere, at the risk of invalidating the concept and giving way to paternalism and ethnocentricity and even to outright racism, in no way excluded by militancy. Where relations between individuals or groups miscarry, the intercultural approach requires the key figures to examine themselves as closely as others, paying equal attention to the behaviour patterns of the dominant and dominated parties with genuine reciprocity of outlook" /Martine Abdallah-Pretceille, in: Querying the Intercultural Approach, report on a Council of Europe Seminar, held in Brussels on 21 and 22 September 1984 (doc. DECS/EGT (85) 34, 1985, p. 6)/. The chairperson of the same seminar, an inspector in his State's Ministry with responsibility for school provision for immigrant children, returns to this question: "Suspicion of neo-colonialism should fall on all advocates of interculturalism who, whatever their branch, fail to investigate themselves as closely as others or the behaviour patterns of majority groups as attentively as those of minority groups" /Marcel Leurin, ibid, p. 18/.

It is difficult, when one is entrenched in a given pattern of thought and a given educational system, to see one's own foundations as relative. We rarely examine ourselves, almost as if such examination would lead to shameful revelations. Thus, in regard to Gypsy and Traveller communities, with the weight of history so heavily disfavouring them, how is a dominant majority to question its own attitudes and actions towards such a dispersed minority? Until the present, no urgent need to do so was felt, on the part of the majority, and change has occurred more by chance than necessity. This despite the fact that certain changes should have taken place long ago in response to basic needs, even if only to enable Gypsy and Traveller children to attend school in the first place - the word "attend" being used in its simplest sense: that the child should have the right of access to the classroom, and the possibility of staying there. In discussing school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, one often has the feeling of stating the trivial and self-evident, yet only the very naive, or those who wish to appear to be so, are surprised when such basic proposals are not put into practice. Are there therefore, in our common field, no innovations other then the purely speculative or, in the statistical sense of the word, the problematic?

I would add that the scholastic world, facing change and innovation, is in an ambiguous position, caught between institutional and traditional fear of change, perceived a priori as disruptive of the system and the habits of those engaged in it, and the strong and frequently expressed hope (which is not to say that it necessarily takes the form of any practical action) for ongoing change in order to adapt to changes in society, and if possible to participate in them. The bottom line is, that in this field we often observe halfhearted efforts towards change, or successive and contradictory reforms which cancel each other out. And one asks - we could bear this point in mind over the coming days - if, in the end, it is not preferable in certain cases to transform the old into the new (which facilitates the institutional side of things, and leaves an important margin in which to manoeuvre), than to graft the new onto the old (for example "experiments" implemented without imagination or flexibility, which serve only to reconfirm conformist - in the pejorative sense of the term - models and preconceptions). The transition from haphazard innovation to a policy of innovation necessitates fundamental changes, a transformation of certain habits and thinking patterns, without which innovation runs the risk of being nothing more than an "additive" /the term is used in the symposium document on "Innovation in

Primary Education in Western Europe", Han-sur-Lesse, (Belgium), 17-21 October 1983; report by R. Vandenberghe, DECS/EGT (84) 24, p. 6/, a short-term, superficial "additive" without follow-up or structure, a spineless change with no chance of meshing into a dynamic whole to play an innovative role within it.

But the difficulties so hastily sketched here - and I do not doubt we will be looking at many others - must not be cited as an excuse for doing nothing. The reports quoted demonstrate both the necessity for innovation and possibilities and/or achievements which do not necessarily overturn basic existing institutional dynamics.

"It is not a question of modification, but of innovation, of broadening the field of possibilities in order that new options become viable choices. It is above all a question of a state of mind, of openness, in order to avoid blockages and irrelevant rules. School provision for Gypsy and Traveller children is, in many regards, still at an experimental stage and, if no blanket solution can be evolved, then neither can any proposal be rejected out of hand" /Gypsy and Travellers/. "Particularly as regards teaching which it is hoped to adapt to cultural diversity, it is important that essential innovation should have the scope in which to express itself. Which means...that schools should be given a margin of autonomy" /School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children/. "Flexibility allows imagination to find expression, the diversity of measures studied and implemented favours innovation and constant renewal of the approach to problem solving, and thus avoids rigidification, minimises the impact of failures and prevents their repetition, increases possibilities for adaptation by increasing the number of ways in which it can be pursued... Alternatives which are unorthodox but practical play a crucial role in the field of innovation, and a minimum of flexibility must give them scope in which to operate before a verdict is passed upon them" /Gypsies and Travellers/.

And this is precisely the heart of the theme of our seminar. In our approach to these reflections on the constant factor of indecision in present policies, as emphasised above, we must seek out practical means of innovation, and indicate what they lead towards.

HOW SHOULD INNOVATION BE APPROACHED?

A detailed discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of the present paper. I wish only to make a few brief remarks concerning our theme - remarks which, in conjunction with the conceptual outline of the seminar, may help establish a preliminary orientation for our work here.

So-called "experimental" classes, so-called "pilot" projects, whatever the institutional context whence they emerge, are sooner or later placed under the spotlight; it is here that opinions, ideologies and financial aid are polarised. They occupy a crucial role amongst innovative projects. Yet it is vital to ensure that they, in their turn, provide illumination and inspire new projects. It is often forgotten that the term "project" implies a follow-up of practical action, that the term "pilot" implies that others will follow, that the term "experimental" implies that results will be obtained and learned from. One of the functions of a seminar such as ours, and particularly with regard to our present theme, is to register within this open perspective an awareness of exploratory approaches which may be taken here and there.

The concept of innovation within school provision has already been the theme of Council of Europe seminars and other concerted reflection; it was even the theme of a project, that is to say, of a series of coordinated action and reflection undertaken over a number of years: the CDCC's Project No. 8 on "Innovation in Primary education". There too it is a good idea to take note of what has been done, so as not to repeat it. But, in my opinion, the danger of repetition in our particular field is minimal, and it is not until the time arrives for the compilation of syntheses that it will be interesting to take note of similarities and differences. In effect, in studying documents produced for example by Project No. 8, it appears that innovation is most frequently understood, and analysed, as macro-innovation, effecting all or part of the school system of a given State. Approaches to problem solving may differ and, in our particular field, we find ourselves dealing primarily with micro-innovations, for reasons which it is interesting to detail.

This fact seems important to me. First, the situation, through the analyses to which it gives rise, obliges us to base ourselves firmly within the concrete, and to remain within the realm of the concrete (though when we come to formulating our synthesis we shall doubtless have to run the risk of a few generalisations). At that point, we shall see if it is possible to propose some "models", some "paradigms" as they are called, but these will doubtless be more models for thought than for action.

As I have already noted in one of the quoted reports, "schooling, despite the affirmations of a few positivist spirits, is not the putting into practice of technology. Method may be a starting point, but it is not a collection of tried-and-true recipes which would, in supposedly identical conditions, yield comparable results. Conditions are very rarely identical, particularly since cultural criteria must be taken into account; it is then that we perceive that the use of educational techniques considered to be polyvalent may be restrictive for the child, and pedagogically inoperable" /School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children/.

Second, the multiplicity (in every sense) of the micro-innovations which we shall be examining is a reflection of the necessity for flexibility in the implementation of adapted approaches: such multiplicity permits us to start by examining situations and dynamics which may be very diverse, to arrive at propositions which cannot be other than diverse, as previous studies have shown. It is here that one meets once again with generalised observations and questions; monolithic visions are crumbling: recognition is being given to the fact that there is not a single development, but many; that various roads may lead to progress; that footpaths may lead as surely to progress as do more travelled roads, and perhaps less dangerously than motorways; that footpaths, however narrow, may indeed be shortcuts... On the other hand, certain efforts of the "alternative" type may be dismissed as utopian, yet later recognised as viable, as yesterday's utopia becomes today's reality.

The multiplicity which we shall be observing is thus an important asset, just as it is an important fact that the scholastic situation of Gypsy and Traveller communities is one of development (in the photographic sense of the term) of a number of school functions and dysfunctions, for reasons which I discussed at length in the 1983 seminar. I added then that "all the possibilities remain open, and the Gypsy example, by the reflections to which it gives rise and the pedagogical practices which it may engender, could enrich schooling for all".

On the subject of stuctures for accepting Gypsy children - but equally relevant to other considerations - "Variety is the result both of chance and of necessity, a mixture of responses based on guesswork, rarely thought through and more rarely still coordinated to the 'question' posed by the presence of Gypsy and Traveller children within a scholastic institution often surprised by its inability to attract them, make them feel welcome, hold on to them, be of use to them. This mosaic of efforts both successful and otherwise, when considered as a whole, represents a considerable sum of experience. It is important, indeed urgent, to learn from it, in order that the chance results of guesswork produce something better, and that necessity becomes a desire to provide and to avail of schooling, rather than a hasty reaction in a pressing situation" /School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children/.

There is plentiful literature on the subject of innovation, but it seems to me that the most useful exercise of all would be to determine empirically the sense in which the word is to be understood in our present context. If we start, like good teachers should, by looking it up in the dictionary, we see that "innovation" means both action and the results of action, and we find that the word is closely related to change, creation, novelty, discovery, invention, the unknown, the undiscovered, and that it is in opposition to the routine, tradition, and the archaic. Let us stop to consider these points.

Innovation may be progressive, but it may also be a blunt instrument; it presupposes a certain dynamism despite the fact that, paradoxically, the majority of reports on the subject paint an essentially static picture, along the lines of "before innovation" vs. "after innovation", and I wish to stress the usefulness of considering and analysing the processes involved, and the functioning of dynamics.

Innovative action, in our case, should I think be understood in its broadest sense, rather than limited to the strictly scholastic field. The necessity for this is particularly glaring. I have stressed elsewhere that intercultural education must spring from interculturalism in the environment. Thus, innovation occurring outside the school (for example the acceptance of Gypsy and Traveller families, particularly nomads) has direct and fundamental consequences on school practices and results. These aspects - high priority for us - are looked at but little in most reports on the subject. Along the same lines, I would add that the range of fields in which we should consider innovation must be broad: training, information, development of pedagogical materials, adaptation of structures, institutional flexibility, liaison with basic training, etc.

There is no innovation without poly-dimensional implications. In our analysis of these dynamics, all aspects must be considered simultaneously. It seems to me that, for example, in considering innovation in primary education, there is a tendency to overlook cultural aspects even though, in certain debates, over-emphasis is placed upon socio-economic factors. To put it another way, one can postulate that innovation worthy of the name is always a part - be it deliberately or spontaneously - of an "integrated" approach to development, which is to say one which takes account of the various aspects of the whole, and bearing in mind that old lesson of sociology, that all elements are linked; that their relationship is interlocking rather than cumulative. Thus the introduction of a new element, the modification or development of an existing element within the network, will modify the entire configuration. These

considerations are relevant to each of the micro-innovations we shall be studying. But they are equally valid at a more global level, each micro-innovation having no future or utility other than within the broader context.

To illustrate my point without anticipating the debates which will occur over the next few days, I shall quote an analysis concerning the African situation: "Let us take micro-projects for example. Ultimately, they are of questionable value. Because they are not co-ordinated, they are not true responses. Is desertification advancing north of Senegal? But everybody knows, and says, that a vast programme of reforestation must be undertaken. Yet it must be integrated within a viable, profitable economic ensemble. Even if it takes ten or twenty years! Instead of such a global response, we see instead various micro-projects planting a couple of thousand trees here and there. To reforest what? It is as if a sick person needed two million units of antibiotic, but you magnanimously let him have a hundred. But it's not going to do much good". /Jean Carbonare, interviewed in Croissance des Jeunes Nations, October 1986, p. 18/.

Quite apart from dictionary definitions, concepts of innovation vary, and, I repeat, we shall define ours. I give but two illustrations. The first demonstrates that certain definitions entail restrictive criteria: "I shall be talking about innovation as a deliberate change reflecting a need to change teaching practices" /Isaura Abreu, quoted in the report on the 27th Council of Europe teachers' seminar on "The Role of the Teacher in Innovation" by J.-M. Sivirine, Donaueschingen, 20-25 May 1985, (doc. DECS/EGT (85) 45-E, p. 21)/. The second, which I take from an introductory text of a programme of technological innovation of the European Community, introduces other elements:

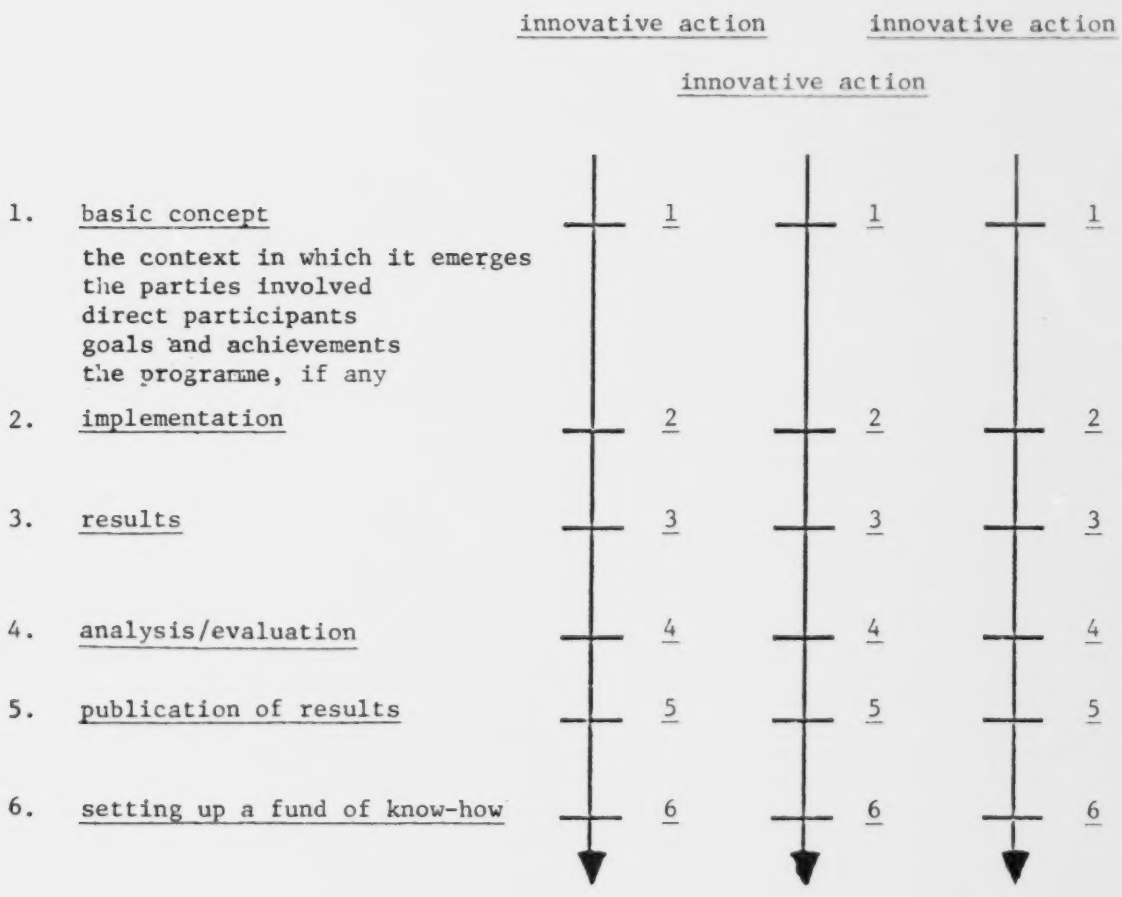
"To innovate is more than simply to invent; it is, in the broad sense, to conceive and render concrete a new idea which may in turn give birth to a product as much as to a process or a service. The idea may arise as a chance by-product of laboratory research, or equally from a new application of existing items or knowledge, or from simple observation of potential market demands which are not being met. The field of innovation, then, is not limited to specialised technology; it can - indeed, must - extend to more traditional sectors and to all sorts of economic, social or cultural services. In order for innovation to occur, the initial idea must be followed through to the end, until it finds, quite apart from any possible patenting or registration, a form which permits it to forge a commercially viable place for itself in the market (...) To innovate is to put imagination into power" /"Le Programme Sprint", in Le dossier de l'Europe, Commission of the European Communities no. 18, 1986, pp. 3-4, 10/.

I emphasised above, and strongly, that schooling is not the implementation of technology. Nonetheless the text cited here seems capable of provoking a number of reflections - or reactions - of importance to our theme. The term "market", used several times, may be taken in its broad sense, rather than the strictly economic, and common sense demands that its laws be taken into account, even with regard to school provision. This ties in with the concern expressed earlier that all determinants of the situation in which innovation occurs, be analysed. The distinction between innovation and invention may also prove useful. It is sometimes said that the inventor plays a "technician's" role, while the innovator is equivalent to the "entrepreneur" who puts the invention to use. While we might question the arbitrary distinction between inventor and innovator, and its validity, still

such a distinction has the merit of introducing a dynamic perspective which - I repeat - is generally lacking in this type of analysis; and the dynamics of innovation must also be taken into consideration at the earliest stages: "The study of the process of mobilisation is just as important as its implementation proper which we have concerned ourselves with over the past few years" /Council of Europe, op. cit., DECS/EGT (84) 24, p. 9/.

To approach the question of innovation, and as a springboard for our seminar, I propose two models; these are provisional and contain little detail, so as not to influence unduly our discussions over the next few days.

MODEL 1

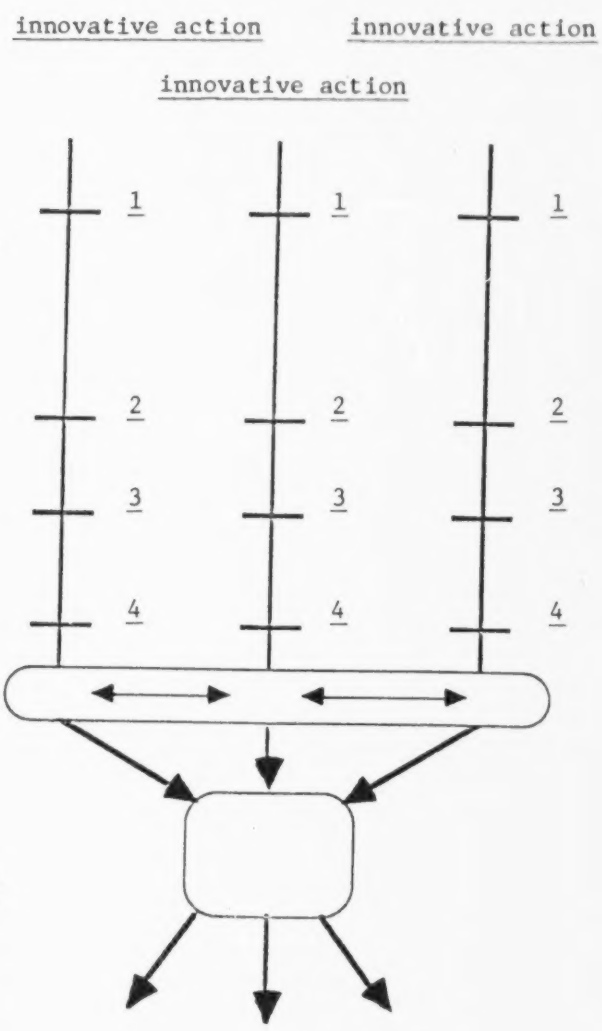


Innovation may occur within a classroom, a school, a State... But most of the time, it gets no further than level 3 or 4, on the one hand, and on the other, action is undertaken in the manner of the elements of the model, which never meet.

Point number 4 is very important. Has the action been subject to evaluation? By what means, and according to what criteria? Is there a gap between the goals expressed at the outset of the undertaking, and the results obtained, or has there on the contrary been a sliding away, a diversion, and if so for what reasons? Which elements facilitated innovation? Which hindered it?

MODEL 2

1. basic concept
   the context in which it emerges
   the parties involved
   direct participants
   goals and achievements
   the programme, if any
2. implementation
3. results
4. analysis/evaluation
5. publication of results
6. setting up a fund of know-how
7. implementation on a wider scale on a common field of knowledge; study of transferability



It is difficult to measure the effects of ongoing innovation. Of necessity, it is almost always in retrospect that the usefulness and viability of innovation may be analysed. But it is essential that such analysis be carried out, then drawn upon, so that retrospection becomes retroaction and exploration, considering for example the classical basic model of cybernetics, which may serve as inspiration while reflecting on innovation:

MODEL 3

feedback: the reaction of effect upon cause

This model demonstrates that analysis must be a constant process, to go back over things, develop them, and that in the end such an approach permits modification towards improvement. Analysis is not a waste of time, and examination is not repetition. The roots of innovation must be better understood, as must the conditions in which it emerges, the fields in which it is applied, and the forms which it takes. In this way, too, we can more easily perceive the usefulness of innovation, and discover if new formulas and measures pave the way for new practices better adapted to the diversity of the children whom the school sets out to teach. One would perhaps be better prepared to answer certain important questions, such as: what direction should innovation take for the teacher? What are the optimum conditions for the proposal and implementation of innovative practices? What is the future of such practices? Under what conditions can innovation become strengthened, and eventually extended and transferred to other social and geographic conditions?

We perceive that this seminar of ours is an entirely relative act, too short-term by nature, and that this rare moment of stopping to reflect and exchange ideas must become a frequent occurrence - indeed a habitual one. We see, too, how personal and institutional blockages may occur, since within the framework of a policy favourable to innovation, the illusion of solidity and intellectual security which arises from the determination of invariables, must be replaced by movement, variation, and constant overhauling. It is, in short, a derigidification and opening up of systems, thought, and action.

I am convinced that, by the end of the week, we shall all see things more clearly, thanks to the competence and the complementarity of the participants: participants from various States, with their experience developed in varied contexts; participants exercising different functions (as teachers, teacher-trainers, inspectors, counsellors, administrators at every level from the local to the national, researchers...), participants with different backgrounds of training. One last word, to express our regrets that, despite our best efforts, we were unable to invite more Gypsy and Traveller representatives. The cumulative effect of three different

criteria for qualifying for the CDCC's Teacher Bursaries Scheme (participants were required to be employed in education, in relation to school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, and to speak French) ruled it out. But we have invited three Gypsy participants from different States. It is they who will preside over the workshops (though one may, for health reasons, be unable to attend). This presiding function is both symbolic and a practical guarantee that analyses, discussions, and propositions will not be out of touch with the interests of those most concerned ie with the schooling of the children of their own community.

III. LECTURES

1. Résumé of the talk by Jean Alciati (France)

In France, as a whole, the situation of nomads is a most delicate one, both in terms of their apprehension of the outside world, and of their own evolution. This fact must be reconciled with the growing acculturational impact of our environment, and the feeling of statelessness. It seems necessary, therefore, to close ranks; to unify groups around distinct goals and policies:

to affirm our uniqueness, our difference, but also our economic, commercial and artistic dynamism.

In order to achieve this (I am preaching to the converted here) schooling is essential.

As for myself, in my time, I attended, as did my brothers and sisters, various village schools, with teachers who were accustomed, if not to nomadic children as such, at least to classes with several sub-divisions. As a result, they were prepared to accommodate each child as best suited him or her. Thus, despite a great deal of moving about (connected with the circus or the theatre), all of the children in my family did get their Primary Certificate, which at that time - 1953 - was pretty much the norm for the vast majority of French people.

It should be noted here that both our family background and our profession afforded us a privileged sort of contact with the population at large. We were, after all, "artistes", and, because of this, we were bullied relatively little by the other children. Nonetheless, we did find ourselves forced to stand up for our differences - sometimes violently. Living in a caravan, at that time, was definitely our of the ordinary. Tourist trailers did not even exist - as a matter of fact there was not even such a thing as a Tourist Board at the time.

Schooling is essential, I said in my opening remarks. But what school? The one-room schoolhouse, in which all levels rub shoulders and the teacher is forced to perform pedagogical gymnastics, is no longer common in France. Thanks to the development of the school transport system, children are gathered together from wider catchment areas, and teachers divide the courses between them. So much for the rural scene. As for the cities, schools are akin to factories in which employees dispense standardised "knowledge".

And this is where our children are obliged to report, in order to receive inappropriate teaching, whence spring the absenteeism and general lack of interest of our young people and our population as a whole. So what do we need: a school adapted to children incapable of adapting? Or better yet, teachers trained in pedagogical methods sufficiently flexible to enable the child to fit in and benefit from genuine mental stimulation?

If nomadism does not facilitate school attendance, still it does not seem to me to be an insurmountable obstacle. It may even have several advantages. In effect, our way of life, and the consideration we give to children, predispose them to autonomy and independence earlier in life than is the case in other populations. The children, with no hesitation or

doubts, negotiate how they wish to spend their time. It is therefore essential that not only one method, but several, be applied, in order to interest the children the moment they arrive - the moment of their choice - in this material or that. As we see it, school is essentially a sort of "aperitif", to whet the appetite for knowledge. In consequence, the teacher ought to be able to offer the child nourishment appropriate to the hunger felt.

Such a method is in use at present, notably at Vannes, in the Morbihan region. It is used by a group of three teachers, monitored by school inspectors and in collaboration with the Gypsy Cultural Centre; three teachers, three levels, three approaches, to convince families of the benefits of school attendance, of learning to read and write, and a little more if possible:

- on the site, preschooling for the 3-6 year olds;

- at the neighbouring school, provision for 6-12 year olds;

- on the site, provision for the 12 + age group.

Although the first two phases of our approach are predictable ones, we also wanted to give the 12 + age group the chance of a future. "Become who you are", said Nietsche, yet to achieve this one must have the means to do so. Who are we - do we really know? And is it important to really, truly be? We are convinced that the answer is yes, and that is why provision for the 12 + age group is so essential. "Become who you are." Okay - but in order to become, we need teachers who bring us knowledge. And that - as we said above - is what school is for. But it must be a school which grants the child an identity and access to the future. The content of such teaching is thus of prime importance. And that is why we incorporate into our classes a return to sources. I say "sources" deliberately, since it is from them that little streams, and eventually great rivers, flow.

Thus children, instructed in the history of the Gypsy people, will be able to identify themselves as belonging to a given current. They will no longer be ashamed of belonging to such and such a category of individuals, but will be conscious that they are part of the mosaic which goes to form a nation, a continent, a world.

Rather than cursing the darkness, create a little light. And that is what we are going to do.

No territory, but an essence, a uniqueness. Using this as a starting point we can, as we learn the history of our people, learn others' histories as well: what we brought away with us from, and what we left behind in, the countries we passed through.

While we are no longer starting from scratch, a great deal remains to be done. And it is this to which the Gypsy Cultural Centre, among all its other activities, pays the most attention. We hope to have the close co-operation of the national education authorities with whom we must re-plan, or create, halting sites which we wish to call "Permanent Camping Sites". We are equally hopeful, of course, for the co-operation of the teachers who will have to be trained to provide this particular type of instruction.

2. Résumé of a talk by Jean-Jacques Oehlé (Switzerland)

STATEMENTS

Nothing has even been planned with regard to schooling for Travellers, with the exception of a few, strictly private, efforts, including a caravan school inspired and maintained by a mixed group of fairground operators and Travallers spending their winters on an official site in the canton of Geneva. This school consisted of a single, mixed-level class. It was taught by a teacher who charged 15 francs per pupil per week. The school continued to function until old age forced the teacher to give up work. The instruction given was inadequate for the last three levels of primary, since the teacher's training was at pre-primary level.

The caravan school is still there, but lying idle because it is the teacher's property and she does not wish to hand it over for the good of the community. Lack of venue means that we cannot carry on the experiment at present, a fact which we deeply regret, particularly as Swiss law recognises this form of schooling. As for other innovations or special projects at national or local level, nothing has been done to date - to the best of my knowledge - except for the psycho-social studies of cultural marginality of nomadic children quoted by Walter Haesler, whose book, Les enfants de la grand-route (Children of the Highroad) was published in a "serious" pedagogical collection. This study was undertaken by the unfortunately much celebrated Dr. Siegfried, at that time (1926-1960) the main force behind the equally unfortunate Assistance for the Children of the Highroad project. Dr. Siegfried, through the tests and other works published in Haesler's book, wished to demonstrate that Traveller children, like the Gypsy community as a whole, were neither entirely animal, nor entirely human.

Another project was the report on fairground children's school attendance, carried out by a primary school inspector in 1978 at the request of the Department of Public Education of the Republic and Canton of Geneva. At Federal level, in the wake of the recommendations of the report of the Federal Study Commission for Nomads in Switzerland, the Federal Bureau of Culture was entrusted with preparing a handbook for use by the authorities. This guide will place great emphasis on the present school situation, and also on the possibilities of creating other types of education better adapted to the Gypsy mentality, since, in our country, the Federal Constitution states that "instruction is obligatory, but school is not". At present, an experimental form of group travel is being tried out; it is known as the The Yenische Cultural Centre and has a schoolteacher who gives backup and remedial lessons.

CONTRADICTIONS

I mentioned the Federal Constitution, the purpose of which is to guarantee the broad direction of national policy, but it must be understood that the Swiss Confederation is a collection of 25 small sovereign States, the Cantons, and in consequence 25 different Cantonal Constitutions. For example, the Geneva Canton accepts children into its classrooms from the day they arrive, even for short periods, but other cantons require three months' uninterrupted residence at a fixed address before the children are eligible for school. When we add to this the steadily decreasing number of sites where Travellers are allowed to stop for even as long as three weeks, it becomes clear that on the whole Gypsies find it impossible to get schooling for their children.

The situation is even further complicated by bureaucratic harassment of those who practise itinerant trades, since, in order to do so, one must possess a permit valid in a single canton, and at most for one month. We begin to glimpse the uneasiness felt by the Gypsy who has to negotiate this tangled web of 25 different sets of school regulations and 25 different work permits, in a country a mere 350 km across at its widest point. When a Gypsy family decides to travel for a period longer than the summer holidays, some cantons - a minority, unfortunately - will provide on demand a special certificate attesting that the child is following a short school programme, which enables the family to avoid heavy sanctions. In addition to these sanctions, there are also fines arising from the difficulty of obtaining a permit, because credentials must be shown when applying: a certificate of good conduct and morals, a certificate of fixed abode, and a clean police record. With the exception of "fines of order" (imposed for minor infringements, for example failure to wear a safety belt), all fines are recorded on the police record. Thus any traffic violation - so common nowadays - may in itself lead to the withdrawal or refusal of a permit, which puts the applicant in a position of illegality. It also appears that several German-speaking cantons may refuse permits to foreign residents, for example those of French or German nationality, despite the fact that they may have been born, and are permanently domiciled, in Switzerland.

Such situations have often served as a pretext on the part of public authorities for taking into care children of families caught in the spotlight of the Pro Juventute foundation, and, at the same time, to provoke reaction from Assistance for Children of the Highroad.

THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF PRO JUVENTUTE ACTIVITIES, 1926-73

Pro Juventute is a private charitable foundation, under the patronage of and subsidised by the Federal Council, and set up for the protection of children. In 1926, a special section was set up to deal with the well-being and tuition of nomadic Yenische children: Assistance for Children of the Highroad. This organisation sent its agents, generally as couples, to visit all caravan-dwelling nomadic families. Initially, they attempted to convince parents that they would be relieved of the burden of caring for their children by letting Pro Juventute take over and place them in institutions. Faced with the parents' refusal, State intervention was sought, invoking legislation (still on the statute books) forbidding "living in concubinage", living in a caravan (the law relating to housing and the environment forbids year-round habitation of a mobile dwelling), the prohibition on parents and children sharing sleeping quarters, laws for the protection of children, laws for protection from alcoholism, laws relating to public health... There were plenty of pretexts for invoking the intervention of cantonal child-care authorities, and for placing a blanket order taking Gypsy children into care - all the more so, since absenteeism from school, almost unavoidable for the reasons outlined above, was one of the major reasons quoted for removing children from their parents, and for stripping parents of their rights as quickly as possible.

Nomadic families could not begin to comprehend what was being done to them, and were totally unprepared, intellectually or financially, to fight back. Their only means of defence was keeping a low profile, above all by keeping their children out of school, since Pro Juventute used school as its primary means of spying on families and meddling in their private lives. Gypsies have no concept of "school career" as in the settled model;

their ethics do not permit it; the Gypsy's sense of moral correctness requires that the individual's behaviour and mentality remain Gypsy, while the acquisition of a diploma supposes that it will provide material gain in return for the scholastic effort that went into obtaining it. To profit from such training, one would have to conform to settled behaviour patterns, patterns alien to the Gypsy way of thinking in the same way as the medical code of moral correctness does not foresee the doctors it trains going on to use their knowledge to fight against life.

It is generally agreed that, within living memory, the Swiss Yenische population had 30% of its children forcibly removed by Assistance for Children of the Highroad, generally for totally unjustified reasons, the admitted purpose of which was forced sedentarisation, and with the covert goal of making this ethnic group out of step with settled norms disappear.

The results were not what society had anticipated: from these so-called humanitarian processes of wrenching children away from their parents and natural environment, the net result was the creation of a totally disoriented Yenische sub-culture, since these youths never completed their Yenische acculturation. Having been forced to submit to the yoke of forced sedentarism, they harbour a vivid resentment against the Yenische who were unable to defend them, and even more bitterness towards settled society which transformed them into a sort of by-product of itself. These are the real misfits. They are rejected by the Yenische for having failed to grasp the principles of nomadic life, which in turn gives rise to differences in points of view as well as artificial attitudes, finding expression in behaviour incompatible with harmonious living. On the other hand, they did receive sufficient instruction from settled society to become - thanks to the boundless absurdity of that society - its vociferous critics, demanding their rights, and otherwise rocking the boat.

The Assistance for Children of the Highroad sector nearly succeeded in its covert aim of making the minority disappear, since a good half of its victims no longer have any ties with the Yenische. They are profoundly ashamed to admit their Yenische background; they hide themselves and live like settled people, totally denying their origins. In the course of interviews undertaken by the Study Commission of which I was a member, and directed by the Federal Department of Justice and the Police, we recorded shocking testimonies concerning the good Dr Siegfried who forbade pupils to write to their parents, told them that their parents were dead, or even showed them letters in which these parents supposedly disowned their children - all of which was untrue, since most of the parents were incapable of writing, in the first place, and most of their children succeeded in finding them again over twenty years later. This man wished to demonstrate statistically that Yenische children have abnormally low IQs, and that they are abnormally aggressive. The studies from which he gathered his data were carried out on children torn from their own environment to be placed in orphanages and subsequently in corrective institutions, and finally to end up in prison.

THE RELATION BETWEEN PRO JUVENTUTE AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

I have outlined the negative effects of Pro Juventute on the individual, but public instruction bears a great deal of the responsibility too, for its close collaboration with this institution. Gypsies are wary indeed of the interference, and above all of the influence, which school may have on the education of their child, since they consider school to be alien to their way of life, a direct challenge to their culture. This is not my conclusion, but that of the survey carried out by the Gypsy pastor May Bittel, President of the Gypsy Evangelical Mission in Switzerland. The study shows that Gypsies want three things from school: (i) reading, (ii) writing, (iii) arithmetic. Because it is felt that the general trend of schooling at present is to gear human intelligence more and more towards servitude and total dependence on the beneficence of technocracy and mechanisation. Settled parents relinquish more and more of the education of their children to the influence of schools which provide, not knowledge, but specialisation and submission to established norms, even when these norms fail to respect human dignity.

For Gypsies felt at first that, just as religion is a useful instrument for cultivating faith and developing the spiritual, so too instruction, be it public or private, is the appropriate instrument for the development of intelligence, and thus the cultivation of the mind.

But we observe that the methods of schooling still in use up to the present day are, compared to technological evolution, archaic, and their rigidity brings them into conflict with Gypsy education.

3. Excerpts from the talk by Rafael Montoya (Spain)
(Mr Montoya was unable to attend the seminar, and his lecture was delivered by Mrs Henar Corbi).

As the author has not submitted a résumé of his lecture for inclusion in this synthesis, we are publishing instead excerpts from his 41-page talk, "The socio-political environment and the scholastic reality of the Gypsy people in Spain", co-written by Henar Corbi, Juan Manuel Montoya, and Rafael Montoya. As pointed out by Mrs Corbi during the course of the lecture, this document was largely based on the data and analysis of the report Gypsies and Travellers (Council of Europe) and School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children (Commission of the European Communities). It contains reflections on the possibility of change, as well as a description of projects carried out by APREMAR (Asociacion Prevencion de la Marginalidad - Madrid): the production of videos for information and as springboards for discussion, ongoing training courses for Gypsy instructors and other personnel dealing with ethnic minorities.

REFLECTIONS TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE

We Gypsies find ourselves today in a crucial period of our history and faced with profound social changes, and we are conscious of the fundamental importance of schooling. We see more and more clearly the necessity and utility of schooling as a means towards social participation with dignity, and away from marginalism. But we will not attend school at any price.

Gypsy resistance to the educational programmes on offer is an expression of the strength and dynamism of Gypsy culture, and the capacity of the group to train its members in a lifestyle as viable and flexible as ever.

With this in mind, it would seem legitimate to emphasise the necessity of promoting means of change in the scholastic environment and within educational processes. This means that it is essential to understand that improvement is not merely a synonym for extra support for Gypsies, to enable us to overcome our handicaps and integrate into the school system, in relation to which we are made to look inadequate. It is equally necessary to understand that it is just as much a problem of inadequacy on the part of a school system incapable of responding to the demands and expectations of a group which comprises a part of the socio-cultural plurality of our State.

The blame does not lie with us alone. We are not the only ones who must make an effort to change.

The following points are worth considering in greater detail:

REDEFINITION OF THE ROLE OF SCHOOL:

School, as an extra-familial context for social life, must facilitate the development of each participant's personality, while respecting differences and taking them into account.

In the case of minorities, it must play a mediating role between different communities, promoting mutual acceptance and recognition. This means that school must be seen as a basic tool in the development of society, closely linked with surrounding reality and capable of the adaptation and flexibility required for the accomplishment of this objective in a context of equality and respect for plurality.

All of which implies that school is an environment in which the participants should not be seen as "pupils", but rather as "social beings".

A NEW CONCEPT OF PEDAGOGY:

From the point of view of our reflections/activities, the pedagogical "act" always occurs within a pair, teacher/taught. This forms a unit in which the two have a dialectical inter-relationship towards the object of teaching. There is a well-defined objective: the comprehension of the said object.

Teacher/taught form a unit, in so far as neither makes sense without the other. Their inter-relation is dialectical because the teacher influences and acts upon the taught - but the reverse is also true. This inter-relation occurs through the object of teaching, and not otherwise. That is to say that it is an inter-relationship which is consciously sought out and socially organised in a definite fashion, because the comprehension of the object of teaching is considered important in a given time and place.

From the theoretical point of view, all this may seem trivial and self-evident, yet it is less so if we go on to analyse its implications for teaching Gypsies, because it is not enough to establish the pairing teacher/Gypsy (teacher/taught) nor to define the object of teaching and the

objectives to be attained, if these are not situated within a dialectical relationship and, above all, if pedagogical activity does not take place within this inter-relationship. It is precisely at this point that we have always encountered the principle difficulty and the basic reasons behind failure in efforts at schooling the Gypsy child.

In order for the teacher, who will be working with Gypsies, successfully to establish the dialectical inter-relationship defined above, it is essential that he/she understands as thoroughly as possible the universe in which the other half of the pair operates. This much is obvious. What is less obvious is the way in which specific pedagogical techniques should be developed for this universe. Above all, if he/she was initially trained with a view to the ideological reproduction of non-Gypsy society.

It is precisely here that the first, indispensible step must be taken towards beginning successful pedagogical work with Gypsies: an effort must be made at ongoing reflection towards better understanding the Gypsy universe, to grasp its key concepts and to use them in remodelling pedagogical stances.

This presupposes an acceptance of the fact that fragmentary analyses, be they psychological, on economic or social marginality, or descriptions of Gypsy inadequacy, are false, and that it is necessary instead to begin to accept analyses which emphasise the existence of different types of world views, in order to define a pedagogical strategy founded in interculturalism and on contact between cultures which enrich one another reciprocally in a dialectical manner.

This new pedagogical concept must take account of numerous indispensible premises, among which we draw attention to the principles of diversity (Gypsies attending school are socially and economically heterogenous, and this should be reflected by what is on offer to them), flexibility (age and instruction levels of Gypsies do not tally with non-Gypsy school structures, particularly because of the problems associated with nomadism), functionality (the sequence of knowledge should be structures along the lines practice-theory-practice, due to the concrete thinking patterns which Gypsies develop from the cradle), and ongoing reformulation (the meeting of two cultures as different as those of the Gypsy and non-Gypsy within the school context requires a constant process of pedagogical research and action).

GENERAL CRITERIA FOR AN ALTERNATIVE

Cultural Identity in Education Policy

If we turn specifically to the problem of cultural identity, taking into account the objectives of this seminar, it is because we consider cultural identity to be one of the central questions of education. To put it another way, education makes sense, in terms of social pedagogy, in so far as it determines and reinforces cultural participation while simultaneously preserving cultural identity, even when it borrows other cultural elements.

We mentioned, at the beginning of this talk, some of the fundamental factors which define the cultural identity of a people: historical, linguistic, political, psychological. It is worth elaborating our analysis of these factors even briefly, in order to perceive, and internalise, in all its aspects, the responsibility for the exercise and definition of educative activity, as used within the framework of a cultural policy geared towards homogenisation.

The Historical Factor: Historical Memory and Consciousness

The inter-relationship and mutual dependence between memory, historical consciousness, and cultural identity, is profound and fundamental. All peoples, by possessing a historical consciousness or memory, are united around a concept of communal belonging. When this memory becomes clouded, cultural identity also fades to a certain degree.

In relation to this problem, education has a duty to reawaken historic memory. This is not its specific objective, but the essential aspects of its work cannot be realised if it does not contribute to confirming the awareness of "belongingness" of a people.

The Linguistic Factor

The safeguarding of cultural identity also entails the defence of language and its use within educative systems, all the more so in that language is not solely a collection of signs used in communication, but also constitutes a reserve of the thought patterns and life force of each culture. There is no point in going into detail, here in the framework of this seminar, about the implacable historic persecution of the Gypsy language, in a fevered attempt, in Spain, to extinguish that which is different, and as a result of which today's young Gypsies have little or no knowledge of Romani, the valuable creation of their people.

The Political Factor

The political factor (as a factor in cultural identity) must be considered not only from the angle of the autonomy or sovereignty of a people, but also with regard to the culture in power and its transmission in the school context, with a subsequent loss of Gypsy cultural identity through the absorption of alien cultural values which are contradictory to the values and interests of the Gypsy people.

The Psychological Factor

This is a factor which certain authors have termed "social character" or "basic personality". In essence, it consists of that which makes a person who he or she is due to the fact that he or she is born into and develops in a particular, concrete reality.

We must take it a step further by asking: "What role can be played by cultural action, particularly within the context of the educative institution, towards the affirmation of Gypsy cultural identity?".

For us Gypsies, culture is manifest and finds expression in everyday life. The school should be seeking out means and forms which will permit Gypsy culture free, full and lucid expression, to help us to develop it in creative ways and to a certain extent to render it more effective. The important thing is to help to reinforce the culture and our own expressions of it. In developing this culture, and in order to develop it, we must be provided with the instruments essential to the task. And therein lies the function of Gypsy education. This cultural action, taken in its entirety, involves an entire range of measures and operative principles compatible with the perspective of a cultural democracy which accepts cultural diversity by affirming the right to be different, yet without the risk of being treated as unequal.

IV. REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS

Report of Group 1

President	Mr	Jean Alciati	(France)
Chairperson	Ms	Claire Lafforgue	(France)
	Ms	Elfriede Kovacic	(Austria)
	Ms	Teresa Esteban Ruiz	(Spain)
	Ms	Jeanne-Virginie Felden	(France)
	Ms	Mirella Karpati	(Italy)
	Ms	Gisela Huelsmeier	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Ms	Lydia Potts	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mr	Oscar Vanorek	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mrs	Mary Waterson	(United Kingdom)

This group chose as its starting point the conceptual outline provided by Mr Liégeois: a listing of new developments; analysis and evaluation of results; recommendations. The first step was an examination of the different situations experienced by the participants (from six different States). Despite the differences between situations, we were able to identify general trends and to formulate joint recommendations.

INNOVATION

A. Basic Concept

The context in which innovation emerges is linked to the consistent failure of teachers of Gypsy children. This failure is characterised by:

- pupil absenteeism;

- results which, in many cases, are far from standard.

An attempt to Analyse the Causes of the Situation

Schools are non-Gypsy institutions, and their structures do not conform with Gypsies' expectations of them. Thus programmes on offer may be too simplistic, and at any rate have not been developed specifically for Gypsy children.

At a personal level, children quickly become discouraged if school is not basically a positive experience for them; if it means nothing but failure. Moreover, children wish to read or write immediately, without taking the time to pass through the various preliminary stages of which they cannot see the usefulness.

The problem of language - that of the Gypsy child on the one hand, and that of the school on the other - does not make learning conditions any easier.

It must be added that school is often perceived by parents as a threat: they fear it will lead to a loss of identity in their children; they feel that they are entering into a world which they do not know and, in general,

the lower their social level and degree of formal education, the greater this fear. On the other hand, as these levels rise, we note a corresponding increase in awareness of the necessity for sending the child to school.

Finally, it is difficult for the teacher to monitor the progress of the nomadic child. Precious time is wasted either in attempting to ascertain the child's scholastic level, or else in repetition of familiar material, which can only result in disinterest and boredom for the child.

Those involved: these are the children themselves, their parents and teachers, medical staff, and all local authorities in any way connected to the school - be they municipal authorities, institutions concerned with health, social welfare, etc.

The goals expressed:

- regular school attendance on the part of the Gypsy child;

- emphasis first and foremost on the 3Rs;

- the adaptation of the school to the child as a Gypsy but also as an individual.

B. How these Goals May be Attained

In order to achieve regular school attendance from Gypsy children:

a) Above all, a relationship of trust must be established between teachers and the child's family. Encounters may take place as much within the school framework, as outside of it;

b) It is also important that, in pre-school above all, the child should be able to communicate with the teacher in their own mother tongue, which may after all be the dominant language of the environment. Seeing that they are understood by the teacher, the children will open up, and a relationship can be established. If the child's mother tongue is not that of the environment at large, it is desirable that the teacher should have at least a basic understanding of it.

While a certain amount has been done towards the promotion of point a), much remains to be done in connection with b).

In order to encourage children to read and write, efforts have been made to put the children into situations in which they will come to an understanding of their need to know.

For example:

- filling in forms;

- correspondence between the teacher and the family, between the Gypsy child and children in other schools;

- school newspapers.

All the teachers stressed the effectiveness of the following approaches and attitudes:

- flexibility of programme;

- adaption to the child's own work-rhythm by establishing a system of work-cards:

- allowing children autonomy in their work: they should be free to choose whatever material they are interested in at a given moment, and this is made possible by dividing up the work into units as with the work-cards mentioned above, or other similar approaches;

- presentation of material in the form of various games, which stimulate the child's interest;

- the establishment of a system of curriculum booklet for nomadic children, who will be able to bring their own booklets with them on their travels, thus ensuring scholastic continuity. Such a booklet would contain a description of the child's activities to date.

C. The Results: Analysis and Evaluation at the Level of Class Formation

Gypsy children are no longer systematically - as was so frequently the case in the past - placed in classes for the handicapped.

On the one hand, the number of Gypsy children in special classes is slightly decreasing everywhere; on the other, the number of such classes appears also to be declining. Is this a sign of pupils' progress, or of a new scholastic policy? This type of class is not to be rejected out of hand; it can be useful in certain cases as a stage within scholastic progress. We note on the other hand the increased number of normal classes.

More specifically, we note:

- a decrease in illiteracy, including among adults;

- positive results, mainly within the realm of primary schooling, in mastering the 3R's. Further, we note that such results are linked with placing Traveller children in appropriate classes, and with a well-prepared teaching staff. At the same time, at primary level, failure is still more commonplace than success - proof that teaching is as yet neither adequate nor properly supported by local, regional and national authorities;

- the curriculum booklet for nomadic children, only recently brought into use, seems to us to be a good idea, and ought to be developed further;

- the use - far too limited at present - of school workpacks which give children in the classroom ready-made access to working documents, is recognised as a very positive development.

Certain supplementary approaches have arisen, and have contributed to an improvement in results, eg:

- back-up courses for Gypsy children, be they given in the school or in the home (cf. flexibility and adaptation to various situations) and are particularly effective if given when the child feels the need for them;

- "priority zones" or other similar systems, which enable the teacher to co-operate with other school, social or medical colleagues towards improving, not only the school itself, but the conditions of everyday life so closely linked with it. It may also be noted that such an approach may bring in supplementary financial sources. It is desirable that measures of this type should be implemented in all the Member States of the CDCC;

- flexibility in the concept of the teacher's role has, in certain schools, given him/her the freedom to bring the students out of the classroom and into the world at large: for walks, to monuments, visiting public services (such as the post office or railway station...) to see how they work, exhibitions, the cinema... Such flexibility allows discussion to be based on concrete experience, and the high-profile approach may have the added bonus of causing the general public to question its prejudices towards the group.

Elsewhere, we noted an improvement in Gypsy school attendance and results when the school opens itself up. If Gypsy parents are made to feel welcome within the school, it is no longer a world apart (for example, when there is a party or holiday celebration, the Gypsy parents who have been invited to participate will enter their children's school because they have a role to play there) and such occasions must be seized by the teacher to familiarise parents with the children's work, and to praise the child (parents will not bother coming back just to hear complaints about their children and their behaviour...). And this is the beginning: parents in turn will more willingly send their children to school.

In cases where the Gypsy class has contacts with children in other schools (through correspondence, sports matches, outings etc - a sort of twinning), the general result is one of good relationships and a mutually positive attitude between children of different cultural backgrounds.

As a positive factor, we note the general trend towards a new policy on the part of authorities at all levels, who are beginning to consider Gypsies as a people with their own culture and uniqueness, and no longer as deviants. As for the Gypsies themselves, they have become increasingly aware of their rights, and are demanding full partnership in projects which affect them.

We must not overlook the role of the mass media, with their potential for dissemination of correct information and consciousness-raising among the population.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. School

We stress the necessity:

- for flexibility in programmes, scheduling etc, in order to give children the scope in which to develop according to their own rhythms. The essential thing is not the method, but giving the children a taste for learning, and confidence in their own abilities. It is fundamental that the children and their experience should be recognised and validated;

- to create an atmosphere of acceptance, which presupposes that all teachers (through specialised publications, conferences, courses ...) and parents (through meetings) are well informed;

- for supplementary training for backup teachers;

- for a great variety of teaching tools - including materials brought in by the children themselves - to enable them to choose according to their own interests. The work-card system and integrated work packs give scope for individualised instruction according to the child's own progress;

- from the generalisations of the curriculum booklet, to the card noting the individual child's progress, which would facilitate the placement of the nomadic child in the new school environment. This document should also bear the previous teacher's name, address and telephone number. It should include a description of the various activities in which the children have participated in their passage from one school to the next, and must avoid absolutely any type of subjective evaluation - particularly of a psychological kind - concerning the children's personality;

- to give Gypsies and Travellers a priviledged role among outside bodies;

- to promote a better understanding of Gypsy culture through the production of specialised tools with a trans-national scope: for example cassettes on Gypsy history, Gypsy geography (the routes of their migrations), the customs and traditions of various groups, and even recordings of Gypsy literature and language, if the group so wishes;

- to establish teaching structures within the Gypsies' own environment, if the wish for this is expressed. Such a possibility is implicit in the stipulation that flexibility is essential;

- to help teachers to meet, enabling them to pool their experiences and insights as a first step towards evolving innovative, adapted pedagogical projects.

It is also desirable that national centres, and an international co-ordinating centre, should be set up in order to facilitate information flow concerning developments in school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, as well as promoting studies, research and pedagogical experiments.

B. Local Authorities

We invite local authorities to participate in school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, which implies:

- above all, a recognition of Gypsy reality;

- serious provision of halting sites. These must be set up "in response to the needs of the population residing in them, so that they are reasonably close to a school, shops and work opportunities" (Circular no. 86-370-Ministry of the Interior-France).

In the case of sedentary Travellers, it is absolutely vital to avoid all arbitrary displacements of the population in order to concentrate it on the outskirts of town in a precarious and segregated situation. "Each person has the right to circulate freely and to choose where he will live within the State" (article 13 (1) of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man of 10 December 1948).

C. Gypsies and Travellers

All projects, involvement and decisions must always be the result of consultation with the Gypsies and Travellers effected.

REPORT OF GROUP 2

President:	Mr Ludo Knaepkens	(Belgium - filling in for Mr Montoya)
Chairperson:	Mr Philippe Roger	(France)
	Ms Maria-Teresa Codina	(Spain)
	Mr Evangelos Marselos	(Greece)
	Ms Zsuzsa Horvath	(Hungary)
	Mr Alfio Centin	(Italy)
	Mr Hendricus Hutjens	(The Netherlands)
	Mr Wolfgang Gunther	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mr C Truchsess von Wetzhausen	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Ms Margo Gorman	(United Kingdom)
	Mr Saip Jusuf	(Yugoslavia)

Our work procedure consisted initially of describing the actual state of school provision for Gypsy children in each of the States represented. We then identified the points around which school provision revolves:

- structures geared towards improving and promoting school provision;
- pre-schooling;
- primary and secondary education;
- teacher training;
- adult education.

A discussion on each theme was held, revealing different practices and enabling us to develop suggestions, recommendations and important principles relevant to each theme.

1. The necessity of creating structures geared towards improving/promoting school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children

It is essential that the public authorities of each State create structures - or platforms for discussion - at various administrative levels: local, regional and national.

Such platforms for discussion could be used to bring together various bodies involved in school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children: politicians and educational administrators with responsibility in this field, teachers, and above all parents. In fact, it is important for all concerned to take part in dialogue in order to communicate their needs, and their difficulties. What is needed, in other words, is the establishment of a climate of exchange and complementarity within the relevant structures, in order that the need for school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children be recognised and taken into account.

At local level, the structure (or committee) should include:

- parents (organised into associations or not, as the case may be);
- those directly involved in school provision (teachers, pedagogical counsellors, inspectors, etc);
- relevant bodies from the social sector (associations for adult education, social workers, medico-social services etc);
- representatives of the local authorities (mayor, counsellors ...).

At regional level, the same categories would be represented:

- the Gypsy community;
- those responsible for school provision (inspectors, pedagogical institute, pedagogical counsellors...);
- politicians and administrators with responsibility at regional level;
- regional social services.

Lastly, the national commission would include:

- representatives of the Gypsy community;
- representatives of local and regional structures;
- national representatives of schooling and of social affairs.

The national commission would be responsible for drawing up policy on school provision, with particular attention to maintaining cohesion between the different ministries involved (internal role). It would also have a part to play at international level (contact with analogous commissions in other states).

2. Pre-schooling

We remind our audience of the recommendations of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to the Member States, concerning "the care and education of children from birth to the age of 8": /R(81)3, 23 January 1981, Appendix, Part B (2)/. Gypsy children too should, like other children, if their parents so wish, have access to this education. It seems desirable that:

- this should take place preferably in proximity to the family environment;
- this education should involve the children's mothers and other members of the Gypsy/Traveller community (for example as teachers' aides).

As regards the language through which this pre-school should be given, it seems logical that mother tongue and the dominant language be given equal priority (the first out of respect for Gypsy culture, and helping to build the child's confidence and comprehension; the second as an introduction to a second language). Below, we give two examples of alternative approaches to this option.

Sinti Language and Culture (Federal Republic of Germany)

The State can assist in the creation of institutions in which Gypsy children may cultivate their own language. As a matter of fact, many Sinti are against the use of their language in school; they see it primarily as a means of establishing group identity and for internal communication, and do not want it known to outsiders.

By contrast, the Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma (Central Council for Sinti and Roma) has suggested the setting up of cultural centres (for adults and children) for the cultivation of their language, music, and other cultural attributes. One such project is about to be launched in Heidelburg.

The children's schooling will thus take place in the dominant language, within "normal" schools, and their culture will be perpetuated through their activities in the cultural centre.

The Experiment of Saip Jusuf (Yugoslavia)

Mr Jusuf has been travelling with the Rom for many years, studying their social situation, mentality, culture, collecting oral history, and taking particular interest in their language (dialects, construction, metaphors...).

Eventually, he decided to compile a Romanes grammar towards the goal of harmonising the various dialects. He feels that a "standard version" of the Gypsy language should be created, with the long-term goal of producing books both in all the main gypsy dialects, and school texts in the "standard version".

3. Primary and Secondary Education

Since these will take place within existing structures, it is of prime importance that the intercultural tone of this education be emphasised, taking into account all cultural and social groups present in the classroom.

The school organisation must employ pedagogical teams all of whose members will take responsibility for initiating and carrying through various projects... Human resources must be allocated to schools (eg supplementary educational personnel to render groups of pupils more flexible, and to facilitate the implementation of adapted teaching methods). The number of children, their social situation and age, school level etc will all be important factors in assigning supplementary staff.

As for the "climate" and pedagogical materials to be developed to facilitate such provision, we recommend two types of action, to be developed simultaneously.

A. Action relevant to the "macro-climate"

The Council of Europe should undertake an information campaign on Gypsies and Travellers, with an emphasis on their culture and the importance of a climate of tolerance and respect between cultures;

The Council of Europe has recommended to the member States that they develop teaching materials of an intercultural type, with the accent on the necessity of increasing public awareness of Gypsy culture.

B. Action relevant to the "micro-climate", which can be summed up:

- as school pilot projects with a maximum of participation and co-operation from the children's parents (a sort of "parental co-op" with a real impact on school policy);

- in a recommendation, made to the member States, to exchange information on the results of various projects carried out in their respective countries.

4. Teacher Training

We feel it essential that the basic teacher training programme should an intercultural dimension (Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member States on "the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, notably in a context of migration" - /R(84)18, 25 September 1984/. This programme should include:

- the study of different cultures;

- experience of working as part of a team (since successful school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children depends largely on the responsibility of a team of teachers, and their leader);

- an in-depth study of the process of learning to read: its mechanisms and stages;

- training in production of teaching materials;

- the development of adapted methods and approaches to teaching, taking account of the intercultural dimension;

- contact between trainee teachers and those already working with Gypsies and Travellers, sitting in on classes with Gypsy and Traveller pupils, and contacts with the Gypsy community itself.

It is essential that initial training be linked with on-going training for teachers. It is equally important that exchange of information and experience be facilitated between different groups (socio-educative organisations, trade unions etc - and their publications). At the international level, the Council of Europe could encourage this exchange, for example by undertaking a review of experience and information.

5. Adult Education

Given the functional illiteracy and general lack of basic schooling among the adult Gypsy and Traveller population, we propose that the State should set up structures capable of providing this instruction.

A. We request that official institutions should be adapted to meet the needs (whether cultural, social, economic etc) of adults; needs which vary according to the age, sex, religion etc of those concerned.

We request that such institutions should use all appropriate means to facilitate the success of adult education, thus increasing the chances of improving the social situation of this population in a changing world.

B. We hope that governments will create open structures - in collaboration with all concerned, and in particular with Gypsy and Traveller organisations - with the goal of setting up a permanent system of voluntary adult education. Content of such education will be determined by the demands of the adults themselves.

Local and regional authorities must increase their support for Gypsy organisations and/or organisations dealing with Gypsies (such as cultural centres, institutions of adult education, voluntary organisations, community groups...).

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend to the Council of Europe that it urge the governments of member States to take measures for the establishment of a standing organisation overseeing the various levels of school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, on a permanent basis.

2. We recommend that the Council of Europe should encourage member States to take measures to facilitate Gypsy and Traveller children's access to pre-schooling.

3. We recommend that the Council of Europe should urge the governments of member States to organise and co-ordinate information campaigns on Gypsy and Traveller communities.

4. We recommend that the Council of Europe should ask the governments of member States to develop intercultural teaching materials, with the accent being placed on the necessity of helping Gypsy and Traveller culture to be better understood.

5. We recommend that the Council of Europe should encourage the governments of member States to recognise the importance of basic literacy projects, and to assure their funding even when they are not linked with job training as such.

6. We recommend that the Council of Europe should set up an inventory of experience and information on schooling and Gypsy and Traveller culture, and to urge governments of member States to undertake their publication and exchange.

REPORT OF GROUP 3

President:	Mr Jean-Jacques Oehlé	(Switzerland)
Chairperson:	Mr Michel Delsouc	(France)
	Mr Koen Van Ryckeghem	(Belgium)
	Mr José Nieto	(Spain)
	Miss Maria Massimello	(Italy)
	Mr Herbert Albers	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mrs Rita Fricke	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mr Rainer König	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mrs Katarina Lenner	(Federal Republic of Germany)
	Mrs Sally Naylor	(United Kingdom)

1. Terminology

The only term used in this report is "Gypsy", with "sedentary" or "nomadic" added as a clarification of lifestyle.

2. Guidelines

If a period of discussion reveals that Gypsies find themselves in different situations as regards public authorities and socio-economic status in the various countries represented here, it also brings to light unity as soon as we begin to express needs in the field of schooling, and identifying problems there resulting from the fact that Gypsy identity is not taken into account. All action must recognise this cultural specificity, which can be expressed in a general way in the following two remarks:

- the school must be a structure at the service of the child. The Gypsy wants instruction, but refuses the school's package of education. Has the teacher the possibility and the means to make this distinction?

- the demand is for functional content: emphasis must be placed squarely on the 3R's.

Among the problems associated with school, mention should be made of:

- the administrational organisation of the structures of education;

- the problem of language and dialects;

- the problems of organising time and space;

- the fact that the oral tradition/family model/cultural identity are not taken into account.

In addition, the phenomena of communication and acculturation must also be analysed.

3. Micro-projects and their evaluation

Data provided from the various countries concerns the results of pedagogical projects carried out by a single school or school sector:

- teacher training projects;

- situational analyses based on reports.

The Federal Republic of Germany reports two experiments:

- The first took place in Freiburg within the framework of an elementary school. It dealt with sedentary and semi-sedentary Gypsy families. The principle objective of this exercise was to set up a structure which would permit these pupils to pursue a normal school career, that is to say, more precisely, to encourage them to go on to the secondary level. The school went on functioning with classical teaching methods, but with recognition of its specialised goal: this enabled the school to bring in specialised supplementary teachers. It is also important to note that the daily schedule was modified somewhat: children took their midday meal in school, and had classes in the afternoons.

This attitude enabled the taking into account of a problem relating to the implementation of a precise and particular project. But does not such specificity carry a danger of isolation within the educational structure? Moreover, does such an approach indicate a lack, or an excess, of protection?

The project undertaken in Munich was the work of the social welfare authorities. It was aimed at sedentary and semi-sedentary Gypsies who are officially well on the way towards integration. The fundamental problem here was school failure and its consequences. In effect, those pupils who succeed at school do so as a minority perfectly integrated into the non-Gypsy population; there is even evidence of denial of Gypsy identity. Pupils who fail, on the other hand, affirm their identity but reject school to such an extent that their school failure takes them out of the normal curriculum and streams them towards special schools (Sonderschülen).

Social workers implemented a project of supplementary classes in the afternoons. They had very specific goals, in so far as they were set up expressly in response to the social worker's advice. The aim of the project was the setting up of a three-tier education unit closely linked with the broader educational system. It would deal with primary schooling, remedial teaching, and literacy courses. The teachers involved had received no special training. This approach appears positive in so far as it enables a particular project to be set up within a particular context. Nonetheless it remains a Gadjo project developed without consulting the target group. Ongoing teacher training, with the collaboration of the Gypsies themselves, is much to be desired.

The three projects discussed by the French team attempted to gear themselves towards the different degrees of nomadism of the Gypsy population. The act of teaching had a bearing on three different fields:

- school content;
- place in society;
- ethnic identity.

In all cases, an affort was made to establish a structure sufficiently flexible to reconcile individual learning (using personal work-cards) with collective work based on the idea of role.

The first case concerned a sedentary Gypsy population (about 50 pupils) attending a school with 9 classes near Montauban (Labastide Saint-Pierre). Consultation between the teachers initially enabled the setting up of a school structure adapted to the pupils' needs:

Intermediate level: First and Second years

Elementary level: First and Second years Class A

Preparatory Course (a) (b) (c)

a) Certain pupils could follow the normal course

b) Certain pupils used class A as a remedial class

c) Finally, class A was, for certain pupils, the final objective of their scholastic career (at the level of first and second year elementary courses).

Two teachers co-operated closely: they swapped classes weekly, prepared for classes together, and generally undertook to "de-isolate" themselves, with the result that they could function in widely varied ways.

Teaching materials were devised and developed.

All three levels were evaluated.

The second case concerns the school-going Gypsy population resident on the Ramier halting site in Montauban. It concerns both families which are passing through the area, and others which are semi-sedentary, in that they may spend the four months of winter on the site.

The basic objective is the teaching of the 3R's. Teaching materials (particularly work-cards) were created for literacy and numeracy. Emphasis was laid above all on functionalism at all levels of learning.

Finally, a third case was planned: it would deal with nomadic Gypsies attending "normal" (non-specialised) classes for a few days at a time. This project was carried out at the initiative of CEFISEM (Centre for the Training and Information of Teachers of Migrant Children) with a group of seven teachers. The teachers were presented with a methodology for helping Gypsy pupils to participate in school life during their stay. The form it took was an open dossier which would record and in turn centralise the action carried out by the teachers. These dossiers, apart from their informational content, give teachers two examples of work (based inter alia on the "reading" of pictures: buying a car, and negotiating one's way round a shopping mall).

As far as teacher training goes, only short-term projects (pedagogical study days, 2-day courses...) have been undertaken to date, and that thanks to the initiative of an inspector from the Department of Education (IDEN).

By way of a summary, many points can be seen as positive:

- an increase in school attendance;

- a recognition of the diversity of Gypsy groups;

- the definition of needs;

- the creation of teaching materials.

On the other hand, the lack of communication between the teachers involved is regrettable, as is the lack of any plan or specific project regarding either basic or in-service training.

In Italy, several training courses for public school teachers have been held, among which it is worth singling out the one authorised by the Ministry for Public Instruction and organised by the Opera Nomadi Association in Turin; it was held from November 1986 - May 1987, Saturday mornings or Thursday afternoons.

The objective of such courses is to increase knowledge of characteristic elements of Gypsy identity. In the course of training, various themes are touched upon: the image of the Gypsy child, factors impeding school attendance, relationships within the school and obstacles to socialisation, learning difficulties, applied teaching methods and techniques.

The project appears to have been very successful at local level; it has now been extended throughout the country.

In Spain, the sedentary Gypsy population follows the same course of schooling as other pupils. On the other hand, action specifically geared towards them has recently been undertaken by the Ministry, in view of the high rates of absenteeism, school failure, and outright refusal to attend among this group. The project consists of back-up within the framework of compensatory education. The project, while having some positive aspects (no ministerial action having ever been undertaken before) is nonetheless inadequate, since it is merely supplementary.

The Ministry of Education, despite some short-term projects, has not to date taken on the training of teachers of Gypsy pupils, and, since such training had proved essential, teachers' associations have attempted to provide it out of their own resources: meetings are organised each year by the Asociación de Ensenantes con Gitanos. The Ministry plans to implement a training programme starting next year.

The autonomous region of Catalonia is developing a programme specifically for teachers in schools with Gypsy pupils, its educational objectives being to facilitate the adaptation of teaching to the pupils' own reality, with particular attention to manual activities.

United Kingdom: Several experiments have been carried out in England, each at a county level, concerning the setting up of an educative structure aimed at two populations: Gypsies and other Travellers living in the area, with the extent of nomadism varying from sedentarism to the nomad on an illegal site. These experiments were undertaken in response to certain stumbling-blocks:

- inappropriate enrolment mechanisms and teaching;
- administrative delay.

They made provision for structural flexibility, adaptable to different needs, and including:

- one pedagogical counsellor (Information Centre, Training Centre);
- teachers attached to the school, who would ensure back-up in the classes (near private or municipal caravan sites);
- "mobile" teachers who also contribute to a broader back-up;
- part-time teachers who contribute some hours per week, depending on the number and school level of pupils;
- two teachers practising in a mobile school. They provide a link with the normal school structure.

This project accomplished:

- the forming of a clearer picture of school provision for Gypsy children in the county of Essex;

- the co-ordination of teachers' projects;

- co-ordination between teachers and administrators, leading to joint action;

- evaluation of training programmes (methodology, content, etc).

Action of this type has been undertaken in about a quarter of England.

Belgium: The setting up of teaching projects for Gypsy children lies within an extremely complex institutional context. The project launched at Sint-Jans-Molenbeck (Brussels) in September 1986 demonstrates very clearly the organisational and pedagogical difficulties which can result. It was an effort to provide instruction for Rom children in an "ordinary" school. It must be pointed out that, up to then, all projects had taken place within the non-governmental sector, that is, at private initiative, and outside the framework of national education. A brief explanation of the institutional structure of the Belgian school system will make the Molenbeck project easier to understand.

Belgium is a country divided into very distinct linguistic communities: Flemish, French, and German-speaking; and three regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels which is officially bilingual. While all responsibility relating to "personal matters" is controlled regionally, schooling is nonetheless handled at national level (despite there being two Ministries of Education - Flemish- and French-speaking respectively).

The phenomenon of the Molenbeck project was that it concerned about 30 Rom children who, apart from Romani, spoke French as their second language; they were taken into the Flemish-speaking section of a community school which was bilingual, but with a French-speaking majority. Thus the initial difficulties mounted up, but the directors of the school, teaching staff, and voluntary workers from a Flemish private organisation were all determined to develop a 6-year programme for this unique project.

As things stand, it is too early to begin to evaluate the results, although it is the first time that Rom children in Belgium have attended an ordinary school - already an achievement in itself. Despite the fact that all earlier projects (as mentioned in the synthesis report), School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children, Commission of the European Communities) have on the whole been judged in a negative light, still, they have provided valuable lessons in experience, curriculum, and teacher training.

As for the Travellers, attention is drawn to their rapid progress towards integration in ordinary schools at their own initiative, and without the intervention of social workers. Typically, the children are scattered throughout many small schools, although they may all come from the one group. We could say that collective refusal is transformed through "individual" parental initiative. This trend is, however, too recent to be evaluated.

In general we note:

- the absence of systematic training for teachers working with Gypsies and Travellers; when such training does exist, it is provided by private organisations, social services, or, in those cases where the education authorities themselves provide it, it is of a short-term, localised nature. Both the training and information of teachers working with Gypsies and Travellers must be developed;

- a diversity of projects, often very short-term and dealing with very specific cases. That the various States have no national policy is much to be regretted;

- the influence of halting conditions on school attendance (United Kingdom, Switzerland, and other States).

(NB: Most of the micro-projects described above were set up without knowledge of the Recommendations of the Council of Europe issued at the 20th teachers' seminar, "Training of Teachers of Gypsy Children", Donaueschingen 20-25 June 1983, report DECS/EGT(83)63 by Jean-Pierre Liégeois. Although we are unaware of the causes of this lack of information, it is regrettable that those involved were unable to have the benefit of existing texts.)

4. Proposals

Action by the Council of Europe

We repeat that it is regrettable that the results of the preceding seminar were not more widely distributed by the different States, particularly as they had committed themselves to making the work of the organisation better known in their own countries. This may be one of the reasons for the failure of the recommendations to have had a discernible impact on practice.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Council of Europe will urge the various member States to distribute documentation more efficiently, so that people working at grassroots level may benefit from the information.

Moreover, the Council of Europe should make provision for ensuring that this is in fact disseminated, and for measuring the impact of its recommendations on target groups.

Information appears to be very little utilised; it would seem, in the light of the report quoted, that it is better distributed within the private sector than the public.

Language

Proposals relating to language spring from analyses of the results of experiments carried out by members of this working group, and are based on the following considerations:

- mother-tongue is not always different from the official State language;

- Romanes is an oral language. The school structure, in its teaching function, imposes upon it a transformation into writing, which distorts the dynamism of the spoken language;

- language serves a protective function for the group. Learning it alters the relationship of communication and power between Gypsy and non-Gypsy;

- language serves a cultural function and, in this capacity, it must be mastered by the group as a valid tool for self-expression.

It would appear, then, that:

- if language is taught within a non-Gypsy context, will it not lose its primary function?

- is not the rehabilitation of Gypsy language by the educative structure of non-Gypsies a strategy on the part of the latter?

- the Gypsy group must, therefore, master the teaching of its own language, to recover its identity;

- it is also hoped that learning the language will revitalise the Gypsy group proper.

The school structure can contribute to awareness and motivation, but it must not undertake teaching of the language without consulting the families involved. Consciousness-raising can take many forms: songs, translations, bilingual editions of stories and legends; information campaigns, joint Gypsy/non-Gypsy projects, with role-sharing; research into specific cases. Teaching could be done by a Gypsy within the school context, with oral support starting with concrete facts and stories (real-life situations).

Teaching

General Facts

All teaching must aim towards the emancipation of children, through enabling them to express their identity. It must recognise the fact that aspirations vary in relation to place and social status. Finally, it must take account of the fact of travelling, which, because of the general influence it exerts, will colour certain of our considerations here.

(The group has avoided use of the word "integration" due to the fact that, in certain countries, it is felt to be a euphemism for "assimilation".)

Pedagogical Facts

Teaching must be both individualised, and linked to the environment.

Above all, it is essential that the teaching and training which occur within the Gypsy environment should be respected and recognised as valid forms of education.

Teaching offered by the non-Gypsy structure cannot be other than complementary to this indigenous education and training; it is limited to literacy and numeracy, which seem at present to comprise the school goals of most Gypsies and Travellers.

Objectives: means of expression of a culture
means of gaining knowledge of a (non-Gypsy) environment.

Pedagogical Means

- individual work-cards (respecting the child's own rhythms);

- short, varied teaching modules (respecting the child's own rhythms);

- curriculum booklet (continuity of teaching content);

- interviews.

The Teacher

It is vital that he or she be willing and motivated to work with Gypsy children.

Venues

"Specialised" schools on halting sites, facilitating flexibility for families who move on average every 2 or 3 weeks.

"Normal" schools, in so far as the teachers concerned respect the above-given facts.

Halting

All States should make a serious effort to facilitate free movement for Gypsies and Travellers. The present situation means in effect that, whether it is through a desire to control, or as a means of promoting sedentarisation, much existing legislation limits, prevents, or places conditions upon the movements of Gypsies and Travellers. In Switzerland, for example, nomadism and schooling cannot occur simultaneously without risk of prosecution. And in many States - notably the United Kingdom - there is a deplorable lack of halting sites.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that:

- travel constitutes an element of Gypsy identity;

- travel has an economic aspect, and sedentarisation often brings with it pauperisation and the creation of an "underproletariat" (chronic unemployment, welfarism et al);

- access to schooling should not form an obstacle to travelling.

The Council of Europe should intervene in all member States to ensure the abolition of all legislation restricting or prohibiting nomadism.

V. SYNTHESIS REPORT by Jean-Pierre Liégeois

Here we are at the close of our seminar. Each of our working groups has, in its own way, evolved, not only various descriptions, but a great many analyses and reflections. Anyone listening in on the various working sessions, or reading the resulting reports, will have noticed two recurring themes. The first is the diversity of approaches, despite the more or less common conceptual framework used as a starting point. The second is the convergence of results, despite the wide diversity of the facts under consideration. I would say that this diversity, even heterogeneity, of approach, and subsequent reconvening at the end, reinforces the validity of the groups' conclusions, while demonstrating that a variety of approaches are possible. I would add that such varied approaches are indeed necessary, both in order to take account of the multiplicity of factors involved (in my introductory remarks I already pointed out that the "micro" character of the projects we would be describing would oblige us to remain within the realm of the concrete, and thus of diversity) and to take account of the pluralism of ideas and options in the realm of pedagogy.

I shall attempt, in these final reflections, not to repeat too much of what has already been said, and said so well, but to attempt to place it in a wider setting, a more "transversal" view, before we come to formulate the recommendations of our seminar.

1. The Roots of Innovation

Circumstances

It appears, first of all, that the necessary impetus for innovation arises from two different, even opposed, sources: partly from a desire to change, and partly from the necessity to do so. There are cases where will is the dominant factor, and others where necessity prevails. Most often, however, the two are mixed.

As concerns the desire for change:

- it is the search for adapting the form and content of the school to the children who attend it;

- it is the development of the idea of schooling as a means, rather than an end in itself;

- it is the desire to treat the facts, not as problems in themselves, but within a broad approach to problem-solving.

As concerns the need for change:

- innovation emerges as a tentative response to pressure: pressure from a situation, from individuals, from institutions...

- it is the perception as problems (to be solved whatever the cost) of certain elements isolated from their broad context.

Under this heading of circumstances, the present period of political indecision (as outlined in the introduction) takes on a particular relevance: new questions breach what had up to now been accepted as certainties, and uncertainty may be a useful means for breaking out of a rut. Attention is drawn, for example, to information campaigns: the questions which may be sparked by information are at least as important as the certitudes it may impart. For example, one of the seminar preparation documents, from a United Kingdom participant, emphasises that the brief reports compiled by inspectors (HMI's) provoke constructive discussion. Such discussions have yet to be followed up by concrete action.

There are thus both voluntary and "forced" innovations, but there are also other contrasting pairs of factors: for example some action occurs spontaneously, while other is the result of deliberate planning, etc.

To conclude this point I wish to emphasise that, in our field, innovation appears to result most often from a profound dissatisfaction with children's school situations, and that in most cases it is in response to necessity that individuals or institutions recognise or permit change. Innovation occurs in a state of urgency. Group 1 emphasises, from the beginning of their report, the "consistent failure" which determines the context in which innovation occurs, because of the basic non-adaptation of the school; Group 3 speaks of "problems".

It would be interesting to see if the more important innovations have not in fact arisen from necessity, with a will to change having, up to now, played a role in minor, localised innovations. This is merely a hypothesis.

2. The Conditions Under Which Innovation Emerges

Despite the existence of the roots mentioned above, it is far from unusual for planned innovation to fail to see the light of day; this is due to the fact that roots, if they are to grow and produce the fruit of action, must find soil favourable to their development.

2.1 Ideological Conditions

Let us begin with the broadest considerations. These can be understood in various ways:

- I return to the indecision and questioning which I have already mentioned. Another group considering the same theme as ours concluded that "Lack of clarity is the enemy of innovation" /27th Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar, Donaueschingen, 20-25 May 1985, on "The Role of the Teacher in Innovation", Report DECS/EGT(85)45-E, by J-M Sivirine/.

I wish to emphasise that, in our case, the opposite is often true, and conclude that "lack of clarity" can favour innovation, since it permits the flexibility without which innovation, since it permits the flexibility without which innovation cannot emerge: when on the other hand one is working constantly within fixed ideas, where everything seems clear from the outset, it is difficult to get out of the resultant rut;

- the "Gypsy dimension" has yet to be properly recognised; to date, it has, for the most part, been ignored or even denied. The most important implication of this approach is to take existing Gypsy dynamics as the basis for all action: for example to bear in mind that Gypsies have no tradition of institutionalised "meetings"; that expectations and planning do not always take place by the same processes; that aspirations vary enormously. We must question the direction of innovation for Gypsy families and aim at a communal approach for the planning and co-ordination of innovation, so that the various bodies concerned share in desiring, formulating, and finally adopting the new approaches;

- those who will be affected by measures must have the opportunity to influence their implementation. In my introduction, I referred to the concept of the "market". I return to it now to say that economics recognises the existence of the "captive market", meaning that clients are tied to the firm which supplies them. The same situation can arise within the field of school provision, when proposals and possibilities for action are unilateral; in such cases it is easy to understand the dissatisfaction of the "clients" concerned;

- it is thus a twofold question. The school institution must take account of Gypsy culture, on the one hand, and on the other, the school institution must not be seen in isolation from its overall socio-political context. It must be added, moreover, that intercultural pedagogy, conceived as a respectful attitude to the diversity of the children, must derive from a tone of interculturalism in the general environment, and presupposes the implementation - as yet to be accomplished - of intercultural policies.

Under these circumstances, we respect the usefulness, already stressed by the participants, of widespread information campaigns co-ordinated by competent and specialised personnel.

2.2 Political Conditions

Generally speaking, the word "political" evokes the State itself, or the local authorities. The "Gypsy dimension" has yet to be systematically recognised, as have Gypsy policies. Political conditions seem, according to the analyses you have formulated here, to be generally favourable when the policies of the various concerned bodies coincide. The implementation of innovation brings into play various interests, priorities, and dynamics, and their co-ordination in a spirit of consultation must be made possible. If this does not occur, we shall remain stalemated in opposition, antagonism, and conflict. And within such an uncomfortable framework, the only innovations which can occur are basically negative: impositions which give a brief illusion of something new, but which are doomed even in the short term to failure. Predictions of such results are indeed so self-evident as to be trite, yet sadly they continue to occur, and not only in the particular field which concerns us.

Let me take advantage of this opportunity to add the general observation that innovation is not always of a positive nature, and that certain choices or ill-effects may continue to exert a negative influence for some time. All innovation should be examined from both sides, carefully considering both its successes and failures. There are progressive innovations, but others which are on the whole of a regressive nature.

Political conditions must also be understood in the sense that innovation in certain fields - including school provision - is determined by other factors. Thus, school-related questions cannot be considered in isolation from the basic economic practices providing the family's livelihood, and the degree to which accommodation/halting conditions permit their exercise.

It is clear that a particular responsibility for impetus towards promotion of innovative projects lies with those authorities which have the greatest institutional powers in these matters; that is to say (to a varying degree, depending on the State in question) the central, regional, or local administrations. Yet attention is frequently drawn to the fact that their attitude, when not actively restrictive, is in most cases one of permissive non-involvement rather than instigation. School-related authorities are more likely to have an attitude of "laissez-faire" than to adopt a clear position - which might entail laying down the law at times - with regard to policy and innovation.

In the political field, among administrations but also among other bodies (bearing in mind the points I made in my introduction, concerning the general fear of change), one often gets the impression that innovation is seen a priori as exceptional, rather than as a long-term approach geared towards the evolution and adaptation of the schools.

Let it be emphasised, in passing, the important role played by international institutions like the Council of Europe and the European Community; such institutions should indeed play an even more active role in this field.

2.3 Financial Conditions

Matters to be considered under this heading can be classified in three groups:

- discussions over the past few days have touched but little on financial aspects, which demonstrate that money is not the most urgent priority in developing innovation. Innovation can in effect be synonymous with a redeployment of existing means, rather than necessarily requiring the creation of new ones. New means, when required, are often more of an organisational than a financial nature. This point is important, because it contradicts the arguments of those who oppose innovation for purely budgetary reasons. This is not to say that funds, particularly for support, are unnecessary - and those in charge of finances must recognise that a short-term investment represents a saving in the middle- to long-term (we shall return to this point);

- correlatively, the accent in the financial sphere must be laid squarely on the ways in which existing means are actually deployed. To illustrate, I quote the example of the "no-area pool" in the United Kingdom, a national budgetary package for use in connection with local projects and needs. This means that local authorities cannot cite financial reasons as an excuse for failure to accept nomadic children, since extra funds are available specifically to cover the expenses of school provision for such children, rather than having to come out of the overall local budget, in which nomadic children hardly ever get a mention, let alone priority (while stressing, as does Mary Waterson, that the "no-area pool" generally covers only 75% of school expenses - except for transport, school meals, and uniform, which are entirely covered - and that it ought therefore to be increased). Thus innovation is necessary in the financial domain too; the report of one United Kingdom participant (Sally Naylor) uses the lovely expression "creative compatibility".

Finally, if financial aid, no matter how generous, is not a product of consultation, it may have negative effects, in so far as it may facilitate a "bulldozing" approach without leaving a margin for adaptation, nor the time to allow Gypsy dynamics to react and play their role; there are plenty of examples of unwanted projects imposed upon the target group, a result of unilateral initiative. It is thus vital to intensify the welcome given to parents by the school, and to encourage their participation in it.

2.4 Institutional Conditions

Having discussed the political angle, and before going on to details of an organisational nature, proposals put forward during the course of this seminar also draw attention to institutional conditions which may allow innovation and its effects:

- above all, it is a question of flexibility, which appears to be the determining factor in innovation, in so far as innovation is always, initially, a departure from the habitual. Margins in which initiative may function are thus essential, even though the overall picture of institutional conditions varies from State to State. There are some (notably those with a high degree of decentralisation) in which flexibility is formally built into the system as a whole; others which authorise flexibility in some cases only (such as certain branches of training, or only for certain categories of pupils ie migrants); and others still where it is difficult to find any flexibility - eg in a centralised State, where the centre does not initiate innovation, and there are no mechanisms for doing so at local level. Which is not to say that innovation occurs and succeeds more frequently in decentralised States. In effect, a centralised education system is in an even better position - if the will is there - to become aware, and to publicise awareness, of innovations occurring at local level; but, if such a system is favourable in these two aspects, it is still essential that it should permit innovation to occur in the first place;

- this brings us to a second consideration, that is, a holistic and co-ordinated policy at the level of national institutions. I repeat very briefly that a "holistic" approach must be an interministerial one. How can children attend school if their parents are being chased from pillar to post? All progress is easier if implemented holistically: legislative, statutory, informational, educational. On the one hand, efforts must be made in <u>each</u> field, without waiting until all institutions are ready and willing to act (because experience shows that when this stance is taken, the wait may be eternal), but on the other hand a <u>united front</u> of action should be set up, for the development of co-ordination and consultation between the maximum number of institutions - not forgetting, among them, Gypsy organisations.

It appears that complementarity and continuity (which also imply liaison) are a part of the institutional conditions for the emergence of innovation. Continuity in the horizontal sense, for example between classes or between certain types of personnel such as inspectors. Continuity must also be vertical, between classes, between groups of classes, between inspectors, co-ordinators and other administrators at various levels. Co-ordination must be rendered possible in particular through the liaison role which should be played by:

- certain personnel: teachers made available for this function, inspectors, pedagogical counsellors;

- certain existing structures or organisations: training centres, documentation centres;

- certain measures: regular get-togethers for consultation, liaison newsletters.

For such liaison to take place, the education authorities must have a clear recognition of its necessity, and provide the means for it to occur.

2.5 Organisational Conditions

Under this heading, I shall be dealing with details of organisation, which are also of an institutional character, but will be examined more closely than in the preceding sector.

- It is the possibility, for teachers, not only to participate, but also to reflect and evaluate on the projects in which they take part. Complaints are frequently heard that they have no opportunity to sit down and take stock, and also that at times they may feel themselves to be the passive victims of inappropriate policies. It must be added, however, that they themselves sometimes opt for a passive role, by choosing the relative security of pedagogical conformity. Jean Alciati states that "schools are akin to factories, in which employees dispense standardised "knowledge". In fact, as we have heard over and over again during the past few days, innovation is often the result of a grass-roots teacher putting up a fight. A recent report on "The Role of the Headteacher in Innovation in Primary Schools" (32nd Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar, Donaueschingen, 23-28 June 1986, Report DECS/EGT (86) 72 by A. Papadopoulos) stresses that the headteacher occupies a strategic position enabling him to promote innovation in his/her school; his/her training and an adequate strategy should be of help. What can be pointed out at this very general level of analysis is the necessity for innovation to ensure that the different struggles undertaken at grassroots be facilitated by institutions, making provision for teachers to participate more directly in decision making as regards change, and giving them the opportunity to innovate at their own local level;

- It is important that a programme of action be formulated: studies of goals and means; duration, control, running; measuring results. We have emphasised the importance of evaluation, which implies that the means for evaluation must be planned within the organisation.

- What has already been said about the necessity for institutional co-ordination, consultation, and continuity, is equally valid at the organisational level, and leads in turn to implementation at local level of guidelines and projects formulated regionally or nationally. And vice versa: each local initiative in this field may spark off other local initiatives, spreading in time to become more generalised. What we might call a "demonstration effect" means that innovation sparks off further innovation;

- Particularly in the institutional and organisational field, a great effort at innovation must be made in order to produce a change in the conditions in which pedagogical innovation takes place. Innovation, in our case - and doubtless in many others - is to be found already in the emergence of means which, while not strictly pedagogical in themselves, open up possibilities for pedagogical innovation;

- Organisation must make provision for times and places in which discussion, sharing, consultation, mutual help etc. can take place, and in order that those concerned (administrators, teachers, parents ...) can get together to agree on goals and how to reach them. After all, successful innovation presupposes a minimum of agreement on goals and forms, and agreement cannot be reached without consultation. Parental participation - locally as families, and in broader contexts as representatives of Gypsy organisations - is particularly important. Once again we return to the necessity for opportunities for consultation (Group 2 calls them "platforms for discussion") which permit "productive communication" between partners (S. Naylor).

2.6 What Conditions?

There are a great number of different types of innovation, depending on what criteria of analysis one adopts: spontaneous, planned, opportunist, co-operation . We perceive that the success or failure of an innovative project depends more on the conditions under which it emerges and develops, than on the type of innovation per se: flexibility, consultation, institutional back-up, technical aid, existence of ad hoc authorities, programmes, training of personnel, etc.

Among the factors conditioning the emergence of innovation, some are objective (institutional, financial, statutory ...), but there are also subjective factors (will, sensitivity, consultation in planning) which in most cases are extremely important, and which are rarely taken sufficiently into account; objective factors, which are obviously easier to identify and to manipulate, are given disproportionate emphasis. But we repeat: schooling is not the implementation of a technology, and the subjective experience of any given innovation is at least as important for its success and future as the material elements which surround it.

- Conditions favourable to the emergence of innovation can be listed in conjunction with the general currents discussed at length at the end of Gypsies and Travellers (Council of Europe, 1985):

- flexibility in diversity;
- accuracy and clarity;
- reliance on inner dynamisms;
- consultation;
- co-ordination;
- study and reflection.

3. The Fields of Innovation

The group reports were very clear, and my comments here will be brief.

3.1 Structures

- The overall picture of the various factors contributing to success shows clearly the role of consultation and the indispensability of a margin for adjustment, allowing for flexibility within the project;

- The adaptation of structures is determined by their variety and flexibility. The reports and discussion return again and again to this point. It may seem paradoxical to hear, from time to time, the wish to "integrate" all children into "ordinary" classes. It is, on the one hand, to close off the avenues opened up with such difficulty through innovation , and on the other to lose sight of the fact that indiscriminate, "global" policies are synonymous with failure, since they are always dictated by political, rather than pedagogical, considerations;

- If the intercultural approach is to succeed, there must first be a wide diversity of structures, adapted to meet diverse cultural realities; if these structures are also complementary, so that the pupil may move freely from one to another, or use several simultaneously, interculturalism is guaranteed. Each element is a part of overall school provision; the important thing is that there may be complementarity and linkage within the system. When this is lacking, differentiated classes tend to become differentiating, and "normal" classes, normalising. There are grounds for positive recognition of certain special provisions, if these prove to be properly adapted, instead of considering them a necessary but provisional evil, as second-rate or a sign of failure - in which case few resources are made available to them. In fact "integration" may be a means of schooling, but it is far too often seen as a goal to be achieved;

- It seems worthwhile, at this point, to recall the distinction I made during the 1983 seminar (see the DECS/EGT(83)63 Report, already quoted) between classes which are "de jure" specialised, with overall negative effects, and classes which become "de facto"specialised, on the whole with positive effects. S Naylor, one of the United Kingdom participants, expresses this by pointing out the necessity of "identifying the particular and special needs of each child, rather than the identification of special children";

- In connection with these considerations, proposals have been put forward, notably for a "curriculum booklet" describing the child's programme and progress, for those who travel; for mobile teachers (whether the school

itself travels, as in the caravan school, or the teachers go from school to school); exchanges between classes with Gypsy pupils. It would also be well to look into the potential for correspondence courses, including the use of modern technology (audio and video cassettes, computers, teletext).

3.2 Pedagogy

Education must, above all, be conceived as functional, and pedagogy in relation to clear objectives. Programmes must be varied, adapted to the needs and choices of the child; for example, one of the Groups proposes a system of work-cards.

3.3 Teaching

On the whole, the production of basic teaching materials is unsatisfactory. There is a need for documents on Gypsy culture and history, with Gypsies themselves providing the data on language. When documents arise out of innovation, they should be widely distributed, just as the production and use of teachers' packs (of great benefit in any classroom in which Gypsy and Traveller children participate, be it regularly or not) should also be increased. Harry Huyters' presentation of a Netherland teachers' pack greatly impressed all the participants.

3.4 Teacher Training

This was the theme of the 1983 seminar, and many of the present participants have returned to this inescapable consideration, where innovation is essential particularly for the recruitment of Gypsy monitors and teachers, and to ensure that all teachers of Gypsy pupils are properly qualified. In the confines of the present synthesis, all I can do is to redirect the reader to the report of the 1983 seminar, still as valid today as it was then.

4. Innovation Policy

4.1 What in Innovation?

No general portrait of innovation is possible. Innovation is p ymorphous by nature. Moreover, similar approaches may take on an entirely different character depending on the circumstances in which they are applied. There are, for example, technological innovations, and institutional innovations. There are innovations connected with means, and others connected with ends. We could add that the phenomenon is more complex, still, since, as we have already pointed out, all innovation is multidimensional. Innovation, and the dynamics which it implies, invokes a great number of social elements, quite apart from the obvious ones. This is why consultation and co-ordination, which expand the net of those directly involved, increase the chances of success. It is also why large-scale (as opposed to short-term) projects, such as the setting up of a cultural centre, a newsletter, or a centre for pedagogical documentation, if they are the fruit of real consultation, because by nature they call upon and combine so many different factors, have every chance both of being successful innovations, themselves, and of becoming sources of further innovation;

- Innovation always entails change, and it is always, initially at least, experimental, since it enables those involved to break out of the rut of habits. But change per se is not synonymous with innovation. Some say that change becomes innovation from the moment when a project begins to bear results (in the form of analysis, definition of objectives, of means, etc). But, as emphasised in my introduction, old and new elements can co-exist side by side, even after long reflection. And to speak of a "project" as the criterion for identifying innovation is to close one's eyes to innovation of an "accidental" type, resulting from a combination of circumstances at a given moment. In my opinion, these too qualify as innovations; they occur quite commonly, and have important consequences. In connection with this, we may briefly mention the distinction made by anthropologists between "cultural tendencies", which involve gradual change, and "historical accident", which speeds things up. Anthropologists tend to treat these as being in opposition, but it seems to me to be more a question of complementarity than opposition, and that cultural tendencies play an active role in historial accidents. The same applies in the realm of innovation - there are some innovations which appear to be abrupt, producing harsh results, yet on closer examination they may turn out to be the culmination of long, slow evolution.

4.2 Towards Innovation

In addition to the difficulty of producing a precise definition of innovation, there is the added complication of the fact that any given innovation may be interpreted very differently by the different bodies involved in it. Who calls it innovation in the first place? Whose interests does it serve? Is it for the Gypsy community? The teachers involved? The administration? Pedagogical theoreticians?

Seeing the difficulties involved in defining innovation, it seems a bit pointless - at least within our present framework - to try to construct a theory of innovation. All innovation which has appeared in our field - and this is probably the reason why you found it so difficult to formalise your discussions and analyses - tends, in its dynamism, to be both a maze and a gamble, or, if I can go so far as to put it this way, it's like a game of pinball in which the player sets in motion a ball which may score high or low points as it travels a circuit which is partly determined by chance alone, and which sometimes disappears immediately afterwards. This haphazard progression can by symbolised as follows:

One idea among all possible ideas	Institutional factor	One conception among all the possible conceptions	The administrational factor	One approach among all possible approaches
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
...	...	...	...	...

We can thus perceive the necessity of constantly navigating between the concrete facts of on-the-ground innovation and wider-ranging reflection. This must nonetheless take place without succumbing to the temptation of becoming swamped in theory. General principles, such as those mentioned earlier (flexibility, consultation etc) are not the foundations of a theory, but proposals for establishing conditions favourable to the emergence of concerted innovation. It is thus necessary to be prudent when passing from the descriptive - which has been our concern throughout the seminar - to the new task of prescribing recommendations. We must bear in mind the principle of realism suggested at the end of Gypsies and Travellers when trying to formulate proposals, due to the haphazard course of the decisions and actions which may arise from them. A long and perilous road lies between the laying of plans (even when they are widely agreed) and their realisation as foreseen. We must thus be both cautious and sceptical;

- Among the facts, we perceive that, due to the unique and varying configuration of each social group, the same causes do not always produce the same effects, and the best laid plans may result in catastrophe. Along similar lines, I want to emphasise that no project, whatever it may be, has any merit in itself. Whatever value it has lies solely in the results in produces. As I observed in the report for the Commission of the European Communities (School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children, 1986) whether it is pedagogy or the school structure which provide the form, it is policy which forms the basis, and a combination of circumstances which sets the tone. I illustrated my point by showing that a given structure may serve different, even opposite, political ends, and that, a priori, any method at all can occur within any structure;

- I will also recall the metaphor I proposed during my introduction, combining it with the image of a haphazard course which I have just introduced: footpaths often lead just as surely to development as do more travelled roads, and are less dangerous than motorways. To put it another way, a given type of innovation, even if all concerned agree that it is a great success, and positive in all its effects, is not necessarily valid in other circumstances. Indeed, imposing it elsewhere can be dangerous;

- It would therefore appear, as we conclude our analyses, that we must first think in terms of strategy before formulating a precise programme, that we must first stipulate a system of action founded on principles such as those mentioned before we put forward proposals on structures. This must be our order of priorities if we are to be realistic, and we mention it here because it seems to be routinely overlooked - which is not to say that programmes and structures do not need to be carefully planned. To put it another way, I would say that inductive dynamics (namely the principles mentioned above) are part of the conditions of emergence for innovation, innovation being made up of induced dynamics, which in turn produce effects of their own. Usually, it is a simple mistake of not tracing the process far enough back, and taking innovation itself as a starting point, instead of recognising that is is already the product of a situation.

- It seems important, too, to point out that convergence is far more important in processes (consultation etc) than in results (such and such a concrete realisation, such and such a structure for receiving children into the school) - though it is usually sought in the latter category. This practice may perhaps give a reassuring impression of objectivity, yet it closes off the range of possibilities opened up by innovation. We repeat once again that analysis of the situation demonstrates that what is required is not unification, but a plurality of possible options, all of which can help the school to gear itself to its pupils;

- It is risky to postulate or to expect an overall change of attitude and practice, or a radical change of institutions, as a prerequisite before attempting to implement even the smallest innovations. There are favourable moments which enable attempts to be made;

- Moreover, it can be important, realistic, and useful, to follow the course which is already in existence, to enter into the operating institutional framework and to make the most of measures already taken with regard to other groups (such as migrants) for improving school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children. This gives rise to considerable possibilities for action within the statutory and institutional domain, where innovation may also be introduced;

- All of this must be done without losing sight of the more common connotation of innovation, that is, the promotion of alternative practices. Even if the main value of some of these lies in their idealistic vision, they should be taken into account - on the condition that they are not simply systematic nay-saying to the established order, a sort of conformist anti-conformity. It is necessary to emphasise, in effect, that "alternative" is not a synonym for opting out: it is simply opening up new options which may well become commonplace in future, when they will have proven their worth.

4.3 The Correct Use of Innovation

Innovation, in order to be worthy of the name, must, from the time it arises, give equal attention to follow-up. Conditions affecting the consolidation and future of innovation must thus also be studied;

- Precise, concerted evaluation must be the foundation on which this study and follow-up rest. Such evaluation may take time, but such pause for reflection should allow for examination and analysis of facts, in order to ascertain the value of a given innovation.

- It would be useful to review practices surrounding innovation. When it occurs at all, it usually takes place a posteriori, which is far less useful than on-going evaluation with its potential corrective input;

- Evaluation must be envisaged in relation to future projects, in the light of considering potential for transferability. In this reflection, we must ensure that "pilot projects" and "experimental classes" are worthy of their names by being followed up while never losing sight of the dangers

of over-generalisation. Innovation opens up a range of possibilities in many fields: reception mechanisms, pedagogy . This does not mean that possibilities opened up in this way must be pursued to the end. It is therefore necessary to ensure that innovation arising from favourable circumstances, made concrete where micro-projects are concerned, have the potential to culminate in structural (that is, holistic) application (viz. the critique of token mini-projects in my introduction). Which is not to advocate their massive use, either. In the report for the Commission of the European Communities, cited above, I used the term "homeopathic projects": that is, sensible projects with proper follow-up, instead of short-term approaches;

- Often, enormous efforts are made, and often results fall below this input. Faced with difficulties involved in innovation, fatigue may set in if input is not recognised and given backing;

- However, analysis demonstrates that human and financial investments, for all the lack of attention paid to innovation, do pay off. In my introduction, I mentioned the necessity of considering the laws of the market place. Within the framework of innovation, analysis should be made both of what might be termed primary costs (for immediate measures, or an absence of measures, the latter being a synonym for short-term savings) and secondary costs (costs of adaptation following primary costs, possible back-up measures, long-term social aid ...). There is a widespread fear of high investment in the short term, partly for political and/or electoral reasons, and responsibility for picking up the pieces is left to whoever comes afterwards. In this way, situations may be kept up briefly, then allowed to deteriorate.

4.4 Some Final Considerations

- In many States, there is much talk of the second generation of migrant children, particularly in pointing out a number of differences between such children and those born in the country of origin. I think that we shall soon be able to speak of a second generation of school-attending Gypsy and Traveller children;

- This being the case, the problem of finding Gypsy teachers to work with children of their own community may be one solution;

- It is interesting to note (cf. for example the Final Report of the Project Group No. 7 of the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation on "The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants", doc. DECS/EGT (86 6 Final), particularly through analysis of innovation, that improvement in school conditions follows the same general lines as community development. Certainly efforts must be made to avoid imposing forms of education on children which will have the effect of alienating them from their own communities. Bearing this in mind, we must make positive efforts to take account of socio-economic reality and culture in the broadest sense. This may also help to reduce the risks arising from the fact that Gypsies have no territory of their own, to which they can withdraw. Their strength lies largely within their own community;

- In this way, we approach a state of adaptation, which we may define as a serene coexistence between Gypsies' own internal dynamics and the addition of others. In this way, through collective and concerted projects we can get away from the dilemmas and ambiguities of "assimilation", "integration", "insertion" - terms and approaches which have been widely criticised in the reports cited here;

- I conclude by saying that it will be interesting to analyse our seminar in the light of our proposals, and to see to what degree it has itself been innovative in comparison with other seminars concerning Gypsies. And to hope that the Gypsy community itself will soon have the means of organising their own training seminar, for themselves and those who collaborate with them. That would indeed be major innovations.

5. Some Recommendations

All three Group Reports conclude with recommendations, just as the preceding parts of the synthesis report also contain many suggestions. Taken together, these texts, which are complementary, must be carefully considered. In these final lines, I shall attempt only to point out several universal facts.

Considering that

- the conditions of school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children continue to give cause for alarm, while school is an important factor in the cultural, social and economic future of these children and indeed for society as a whole;

- the numerous Resolutions and Recommendations of various branches of the Council of Europe, concerning inter alia school provision for migrant children, intercultural education, and human rights education, make a framework for reflection and action in which Gypsy and Traveller communities can legitimately claim a place and demand respect for their culture and its future, as well as for their rights as individuals and as a community;

- many texts concern Gypsies and Travellers starting with the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly's Recommendation 563 (1969) on the situation of Gypsies and other travellers in Europe, up to Resolution 125(1981) from the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, on the role and responsibility of local and regional authorities with regard to the cultural and social problems of populations of nomadic origin, via Resolution (75)13 of the Committee of Ministers containing recommendations on the social situation of nomads in Europe, and Recommendation R(83)1 of the same Committee to the Member States, on stateless nomads or those of undetermined nationality;

- these texts are by and large still relevant, insofar as most of their proposals have yet to be implemented, and public authorities do not appear to devote sufficient attention to them. Thus the Committee of Ministers, in its Resolution 75(13), quoted above, "invites the governments of the Member States to inform the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in due course the action taken on the recommendations contained in this Resolution"; to this day, twelve years later, not one of the twenty-one Member States has done so;

- the recommendations of the report on "The Training of Teachers for Gypsy Children" (Donaueschingen, June 1983, Document DECS/EGT(83) 63) are also as relevant today as when they were first formulated;

- in addition to Council of Europe texts, works and report, we must also take account of those of the European Community (both Commission and Parliament) which directly concern twelve of the Council of Europe's member States and can provide guidelines for other States as well;

- among all these texts, all these works, reports, meetings, consultations, studies, their results and their proposals, there exists a marked convergence which reinforces the validity of each and which gives us a broad picture of developments in the field;

- the situation is improving slowly but steadily, thanks to initiatives usually of a local, short-term nature, limited in scope or in catchment area;

- as a result, and without losing sight of the constant necessity for study and consultation (not as yet sufficiently recognised), it is now time to turn our attention to the implementation of proposals put forward by the various international bodies mentioned, and to ensure that short-term projects are evaluated and publicised so that they may serve as references on a broad scale;

- a policy and practice of innovation, the theme of this seminar, seems in the context of the present situation to be both necessary and urgent, and capable of improving conditions in, and many aspects of, school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children as discussed above. School structures, teaching materials, teacher training, general information, publication, research, consultation and co-ordination at local, national, and international level;

We should also aim to

- ensure that innovation arises more out of willingness than obligation. Imposed innovation does not produce the same positive results as voluntary innovation, and it seems at present that innovation often occurs in an atmosphere, and with an accompanying feeling, of blockage and failure, and that it may be more a reaction to outside forces than a deliberate, thought-out exploration;

- develop conditions favourable to the emergence of innovation. It appears firstly that innovation is a by-product of a given situation, and secondly that, even within a given field, it is still the product of an overall situation. Thus, innovation in the field of school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children is already to be found in the appearance of new approaches outside the field of pedagogy which will nonetheless open up possibilities for pedagogical innovations.

It is thus essential to

- envisage school-related projects holistically, taking in socio-cultural, socio-economic, and political facts. This would imply, for example, recognising the reality and dynamics of nomadism, and also the necessity of provision for nomads; another example would be a knowledge of the importance of prejudice and stereotypes regarding Gypsies, which determine attitudes towards them;

- and, along the same lines, on the one hand realise that the implementation and development of intercultural pedagogy must be accompanied by the implementation and development of general policies of an intercultural nature, guided by the same principles of pluralism and mutual respect, and on the other confirm that this requires a taking into account, and serious recognition of the Gypsy community as a cultural minority;

- envisage schooling, not as an end in itself, but as a means of acquiring skills of adaptation and development for the members of a community.

Among the conditions favourable to the emergence and consolidation of innovation, it is well to emphasise yet again the importance of

- flexibility in all fields (programmes, structures ...) which allows both a margin of initiative in which innovation may arise, and adaptability reinforced by the plurality of options open both to teacher and to pupil;

- co-ordination, which allows complementarity of approaches as well as continuity within a given approach;

- consultation, which allows the direct involvement of all concerned, and especially - since they are both still ignored as a rule - of Gypsies and Travellers themselves; such an approach also allows Gypsy dynamics to be taken into account alongside other factors;

- precisely formulated programmes to accompany any envisaged action (study of goals, means, time-scale ...) and of on-going evaluation to coincide with action, which can also geed back into activities - such input cannot take place when evaluation only occurs a posteriori;

- consolidation, of possible extension/transferability of innovation, if justified, while remaining wary of generalisation. To put it another way, the importance of going beyond the short-term approach, with its net result of unconnected micro-projects, the fruits of which are rarely on a level with the efforts and resources which go into them, so as to achieve a structural harmonisation. This is not to be seen as an advocation of uniformity, but simply of putting the whole into perspective, so as to help projects to become less isolated, and more complementary;

- Gypsies and Travellers taking a more and more active role in direct collaboration in teaching, for the training of Gypsy and Traveller instructors, particularly in the field of community development;

- the development of various forms of back-up (availability, research, co-ordination, supplementary training ...) so that the action described can be facilitated and intensified, in order to help innovation emerge and operate.

- the creation, in States with a significant Gypsy/Traveller population, and at European level, of a centre for co-ordination, information, training and publication, in connection with school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children.

In order for these recommendations, which the participants see as necessary if the present situation is to be improved, to become projects for action and then concrete realisations, international institutions must play their role, for reasons discussed in details in the reports mentioned earlier. The Council of Europe has a vocation and a duty, in liaison with the European Community, to demonstrate the path to be taken by developing and supporting activities in this field (eg by setting up networks of experimental classes, aiding in publication and distribution; the fight against discrimination, etc) and to encourage its member States to do the same. The member States should remain vigilant that their own institutions and agents, as well as their populations in general, behave in accordance with the aims of Human Rights instruments and in the respect of cultures.

A P P E N D I X 1

The Co-ordination of Teaching of Gypsy and Traveller Children in the Netherlands

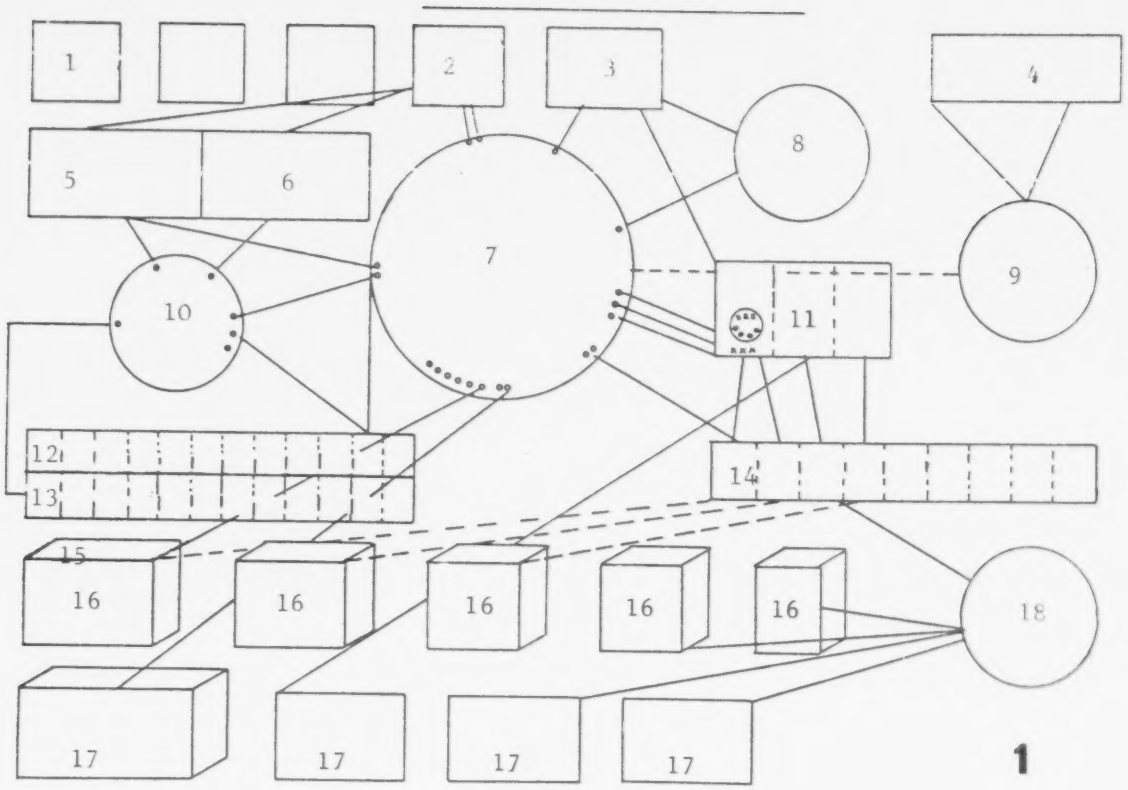
Most States have no co-ordination of projects connected with school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children, and this lack is sorely felt. It thus seems particularly important to share a picture of how this co-ordination is organised in the Netherlands, in the form of charts of the facts presented to the seminar by Mr Harry Hutjens.

Chart number 1 illustrates organisation at national level. The "Central Commission for the Teaching of Gypsy and Traveller Children" is a national commission, financed by the Ministry of Education and under the auspices of the National Pedagogical Centre. The "Central Commission" directs the regions and municipalities in creating a "Platform for the teaching of Gypsy and Traveller Children", and counsels the organisation, shown as a model in Chart 2. It has already proven its utility but is open to modification depending on local situations and circumstances.

Such a "platform" is most useful, for example when a decision is made to cut down the number of specialised schools, and send as many children as possible into the full range of normal State schools. Such a "platform" is also useful in a region or city where no special schools suitable for Gypsy and Traveller children exist, and where it is thus particularly urgent that information and pedagogical back-up are provided in connection with schooling for these children.

Chart 3 shows the complementarity of bodies responsible for school provision for barge children, Gypsy and Traveller children, circus, and fairground children.

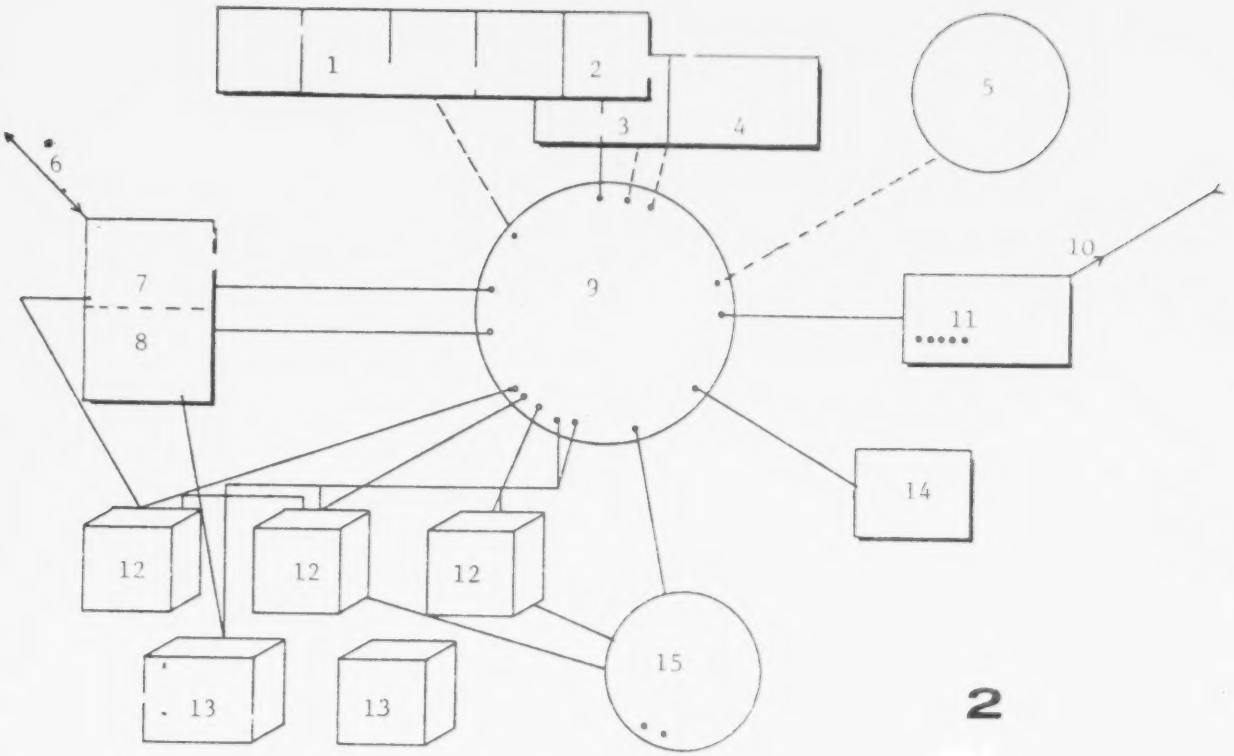
CHART 1



(key)

1. legislative level
2. Ministry of Education
3. Ministry of Health
4. National Assembly
5. Chief Inspector of Primary Education
6. Chief Inspector of Secondary Education
7. Central Commission of Teaching for Gypsy and Traveller Children
8. National Travellers' Organisation
9. Commission of Education
10. Commission
11. National Pedagogical Centre
12. Regional Inspector of Primary Education
13. Regional Inspector of Secondary Education
14. Regional Pedagogical Centre
15. administration
16. primary school
17. secondary school
18. Teachers' Professional Associations

CHART 2

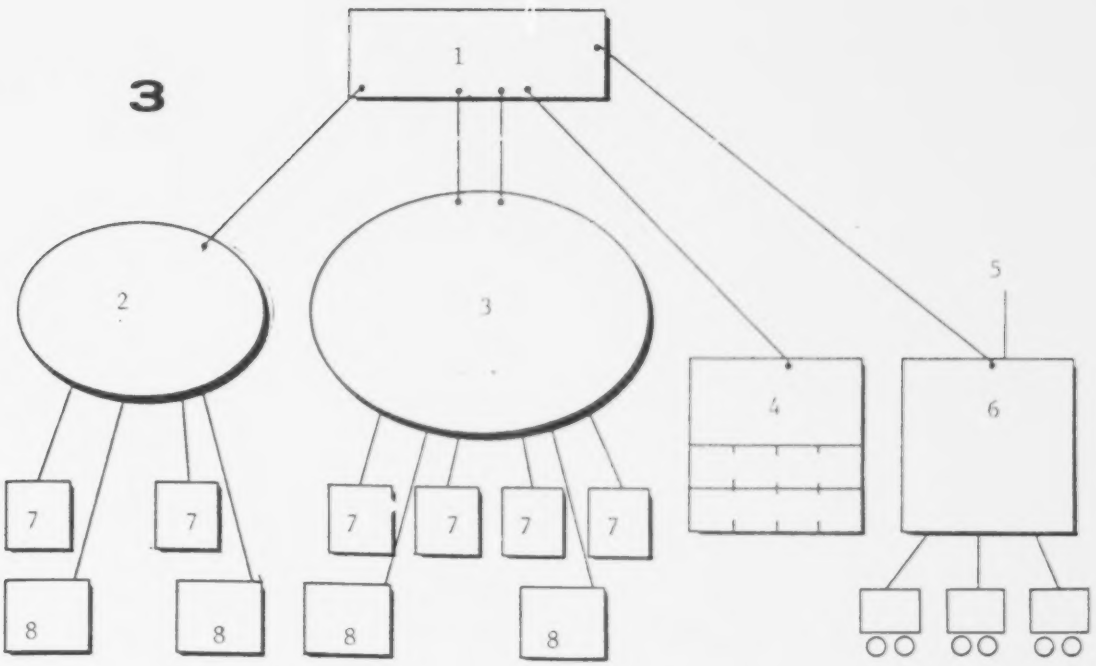


2

(key to chart 2)

1. Mayor and Deputies with responsibility for well-being
2. Deputy with responsibility for teaching
3. ... for transport
4. Municipal functionary: truant officer
5. Municipal Council
6. Chief Inspector
7. Primary school inspection
8. Secondary school inspection
9. Platform for the teaching of Gypsy and Traveller children
10. National Pedagogical Centre
11. Regional Pedagocial Centre
12. primary school
13. secondary school
14. social worker
15. Parents' Board

CHART 3



(key to chart 3)

1. National Pedagogical Centre
2. Committee of six for the teaching of barge children
3. Commission for the teaching of gypsy and traveller children
4. School administration for circus children
5. Pedagogical counsellor
6. Administration of the (8) mobile schools for fairground children
7. Primary school
8. Secondary school

A P P E N D I X II

Recommendations

Following the analyses, discussions, synthesis reports and proposals of each group, and of the participants as a whole, and considering the

- conditions surrounding the schooling of gypsy and traveller children;
- role to be played by schooling in the cultural, social and economic future of these children;
- legitimate demands of gypsy and traveller populations, concerned that their culture and future should be respected;
- legitimate demands of teachers, notably in connection with basic and on-going training and information in general;
- conflict-ridden nature of contacts between gypsies and other travellers, and the surrounding populations;
- scope and importance of the role of negative images attached to this still misunderstood population.

IN CONNECTION WITH SCHOOLING, WE RECOMMEND THAT

- all necessary measures be taken to provide basic and on-going training for teachers, which will prepare them realistically for teaching children from minority populations;
- reception of gypsy and traveller children in ordinary classes - which is the direction of intercultural pedagogy - must always be accompanied by adequate preparation of teachers, and adaptation of school programmes and structures;
- gypsy and traveller language and culture must be used and recognised in the same way as regional and other minority languages and cultures;
- bonds which should be forged between the school and gypsy and traveller families, in the hope of encouraging their participation;
- the need for gypsy/traveller teachers to work with gypsy/traveller children should be recognised as an urgent priority;
- gypsies and travellers should also be employed as auxillary personnel in schools with significant numbers of gypsy and traveller pupils.

IN ADDITION, WE RECOMMEND THAT

- the necessary means should be put into effect to favour the maintenance and development of economic activities accepted by gypsies and travellers, as a guarantee of their dynamism and autonomy;

- each of the states should engage in campaigns - notably through the mass media - with the goal of reducing the prejudice and stereotypes which give a false image of gypsy and traveller populations;

- in each state a national body comprised of gypsies and travellers, teachers, representatives of the Ministry of Education and other bodies, should elaborate a list of items for documentation and reflection, using the most appropriate means for disseminating information: teachers, training institutes, gypsy and non-gypsy associations, parents' associations, social workers, local authorities;

- at local level an association for mediation and consultation should be set up, bringing together gypsies and travellers, teachers, social workers, representatives of local authorities, etc; its role will be to ensure discussion and reflection between the various concerned bodies, on questions of interest to them;

- as a general rule all pedagogical and information campaigns should be conceived and undertaken in consultation with those concerned, and should be founded on a precise grasp of realities.

FINALLY, WE EMPHASISE THAT

- the reception accorded to gypsy and traveller by the school is predetermined by the halting conditions imposed on nomads, and the living conditions of the sedentary, and that there is a need to draw the attention of local and regional authorities to their responsibilities in this field;

- the Council of Europe can and should play an important role for gypsy and traveller populations, notably through the information which it can supply and widely publicise; by urging member states and local and regional authorities to devote their attention to questions concerning gypsy and traveller populations with all the attentiveness and understanding which these populations have a legitimate right to expect; by the development of activities related to reflection, training, study and research, in conjunction with other international institutions.

ANNEXE III/APPENDIX III/ANHANG III

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